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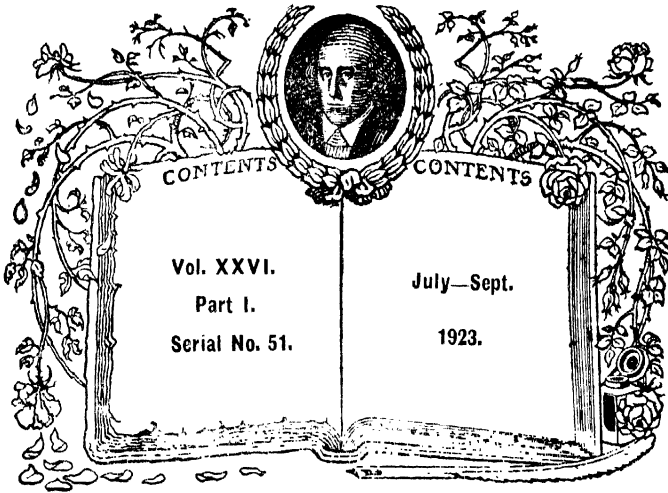
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



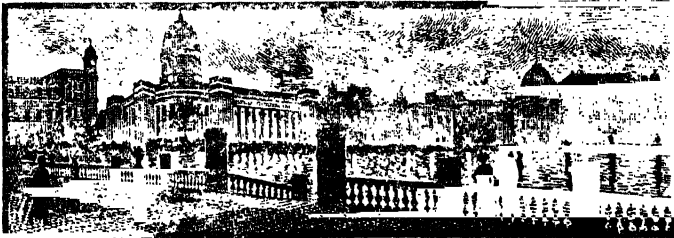
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THE EMBASSY OF HYDERBECK. BY JOHN ZOFFANY, R.A.
(From the original painting in the possession of Mr. Francis Edwards).

“The Embassy of Hyderbeck.”

IN these days when enquiries are constantly being made for missing pictures, which should be, and are not, in Calcutta, the re-appearance of a lost painting must be regarded as a matter of more than ordinary interest.

Mr. Francis Edwards, the well-known bookseller of 83A High Street, Marylebone, London, W.1., has reported to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial that he has become possessed of the original painting, in oils, by Zoffany, of “The Embassy of Hyderbeck to Calcutta, from the Vizier of Oude, by the way of Patna, in the year 1788, to meet Lord Cornwallis.” The size of the picture is 50 by 40 inches, and it is framed in a contemporary gilt frame. Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., who has inspected the painting, states in a letter to the present writer, that it is in good condition and that the colouring, which does not appear to have suffered, is pleasing.

Richard Earlom’s engraving of this celebrated picture will be familiar to many, for it has frequently been reproduced. There is a copy at the India Office, in the room of the Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State, and another in the Victoria Memorial Hall. But the painting itself has not been heard of for many years. In Dr. G. C. Williamson’s book on Zoffany, the suggestion is put forward that it was destroyed during the Mutiny: in which case of course, it would have remained until 1857 in the collection at Lucknow of the King of Oudh.

Mr. Edwards is, unhappily, not able to throw much light upon the history of his discovery. The picture was acquired by him, he writes, at a sale near Ryde in the Isle of Wight of the effects of a Miss Curtis. It had apparently been for years in her family, but no particulars were forthcoming as to the manner in which it came into their possession. Probably, like the picture of Cleopatra by George Beechey, which was carried away from the Kaiser Bagh by Sir William Howard Russell, the War correspondent, and which once hung in the hall of his house in Cromwell Road, it was “looted” by some officer or soldier who had little, or no, idea of the value of his prize.

By the kindness of Mr. Edwards, who has been good enough to supply a photograph, we are enabled to give a reproduction of the picture on the opposite page.

The mission of Haidar Beg to Lord Cornwallis was undertaken in order to obtain a reduction of the contributions levied from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and took place (be it said) in 1787, and not in 1788. The cavalcade is seen marching in the rear of the Company’s troops, towards Patna, which can be discerned in the distance, a conspicuous object in the background being the famous *golah* or granary erected by order of Warren Hastings for storing grain against times of famine. This remarkable structure, of which the doors

by some strange oversight are made to open *inwards*, is said to have been built by Major-General John Garstin, of the Bengal Engineers, who is also the name-father of Garstins Place and the architect of the Calcutta Town Hall.

The central incident is thus described in the index plate to Earlom's engraving:

"A male baggage elephant irritated by his driver who is taken from his seat and destroyed, and by the violence of the elephant's action are seen the women and children falling from his back. This was the moment when M. Zoffaniz (*sic*) took his design for the picture."

On the second elephant is "St. John Kannaway [*sic*] the Company's interpreter at Lucknow" or, more correctly Capt. Kennaway, aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, who was afterwards Resident at Hyderabad and was created a baronet in 1791. Behind him in the howdah is "The Nabob's interpreter." The figure of "John Zoffaniz [*sic*], Esq." on a horse will be noticed in the right hand corner of the picture, by the side of the second elephant. He is accompanied by his "horse-keeper" who is also riding—and by "an attendant who always keeps pace with his horse." Underneath the outstretched trunk of the first elephant and just behind it is "a nachery" [query, hackery] with ladies and their attendants: and hard by stands a "Delhi soldier" with a buckler across his shoulders. A man with a long beard who is shown facing the angry elephant, is described as "a Patna missionary." Immediately behind him, in European dress, is the Nawab's "Portuguese doctor, wife, and son," and behind this group again are two "faquiers," one sitting and the other standing, "who always keep the same position." In the background is "Hyderbeck's *Swarie*" of elephants and retainers.

The foreground is occupied by a row of animated figures which are thus enumerated in the index-plate, beginning with the left hand of the picture: "Young Hindoos coming from bathing," woman bringing water from the Ganges, a Brahmin, (with his back turned to the spectator) a girl (seated) selling vegetables, a Mogul soldier, "a native sepoy *pacaloming* (query: *puckarowing*) or obliging a peasant to carry arms" a faquier, "a radish girl," a Hindoo, "a young Persian," bearers or coolies carrying bedding, "a native soldier," a Delhi soldier, and "a *mola* or priest."

The landscape is almost entirely based on imagination: and the rocky hillock on the right side of the picture is, in particular, a pure invention. In Earlom's engraving a further attempt at embellishment is made by the introduction of mythical palm-trees on the mythical hill, but these are absent from the painting. The tower may be seen in both.

H. E. A. C.

Who was "Asiaticus" ?

IT is only by turning over page upon page of the now voluminous dictionaries of pseudonymous and anonymous literature that it is possible to realise the extent to which fictitious and fancy names have been used by authors in different countries and at many periods. Especially in controversial and polemic literature has this been a favourite way of concealing, or trying to conceal, identity. During the storm of controversy and criticism that followed the disclosures regarding the conduct of servants of the East India Company in the last quarter of the eighteenth century a frequent recourse may be observed to this form of literary disguise. Students of this eventful period of Indian history may remember the use of such pseudonyms as *Asiaticus*, *Bengalensis*, *Britannicus*, *Carnaticus*, &c. We have solid grounds for believing that Major J. Scott-Waring used the *nom-de-plume* *Asiaticus* in letters addressed to the Directors of the East India Company and to Edmund Burke. We know also that P. D. Stanhope published anonymously in 1784 a book entitled *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*, though the second edition (which, however, retained the title) bore his full name on the title-page. The question, with which this article seeks to deal, is whether we must not also enter under this *nom-de-plume* another writer who published certain works in Calcutta in the years 1801—3, a portion of which, being of peculiar local historical interest, was republished in various forms at later periods.

In *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, pp. 508—9, an interesting note was recorded by the then Editor (Archdeacon Firminger) on the subject of the authorship of certain works associated with the name *Asiaticus*. In that note the following passage occurs :—

"It must be borne in mind that the *Original Letters of Asiaticus* is a work quite distinct from the more often quoted book which has borne these three several titles :—

- "1. *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal, 1803.*
- "2. *Compendious Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches of Bengal since the Foundation of Calcutta, 1819.*
- "3. *Calcutta in the Days of Yore : the Memoirs of Asiaticus, 1869.*

"..... The authorship of the *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches* has been ascribed to . . . Major Scott Waring, and although there is no reason to doubt that the Major made use of that *nom-de-plume* in the course of his pamphlet warfare, it is clear that the author of the *Sketches*, who was in Calcutta in the momentous year 1757 and who had conversed with Omichand, could not have been the Major."

There is no longer any question as to the authorship of the book referred to as the *Original Letters of Asiaticus*, the correct and full title of which was:—

“Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus, in a series of letters to a friend during five years residence in different parts of India, three of which were spent in the service of the Nabob of Arcot, interspersed with anecdotes of several well-known characters, and containing an impartial account of the confinement and death of Lord Pigot, and of the share the Nabob of Arcot had in that memorable transaction.”

As pointed out by Archdeacon Firminger, the second edition of this work, published in 1785, gives the author’s name on the title-page—“By Philip Dormer Stanhope, Esq., late of the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards.”

There are copies of both editions in the British Museum. Stanhope reached Calcutta in September, 1774 (see Letter VII). Letter IX is dated, Calcutta, April, 1775; and Letter X, Madras, June, 1775. He was back again in London by October, 1778 (Letter XXII). The date and duration of his stay in Calcutta and the style of the Letters, when compared with the contents of the works associated with the pseudonym *Asiaticus*, would be sufficient to show that Stanhope was not responsible for the latter, but, as will be seen hereafter, there is more direct evidence available.

John Scott, afterwards Scott-Waring (1747—1819) entered the East India Company’s service about 1766, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, though in Dodwell and Miles’ List he is stated to have been appointed as a cadet in 1767, and to have attained the rank of Major in Bengal. He arrived in London in December, 1781, as Hastings’ political agent, and sat in Parliament from 1784 onwards for many years. He resigned the Company’s military service in 1781, and does not from the records appear ever to have returned to India. He could not, in these circumstances, have been in Calcutta during the years 1801 to 1803.

It will be well to consider next the three other works cited in the note which we have quoted. The first, namely *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal, 1803*, is apparently a book of which there is a copy in the British Museum library and another in the library of Archbishop Goethals in Calcutta. The full title (as this is rather important for our purpose) is given below:—

“ASIATICUS;
IN TWO PARTS.
PART THE FIRST.
ECCLESIASTICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL
SKETCHES
RESPECTING
BENGAL.
PART THE SECOND.
THE
EPITAPHS
IN THE

DIFFERENT BURIAL GROUNDS
IN AND ABOUT
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA :
PRINTED AT THE TELEGRAPH PRESS.
1803.
Price to Subscribers, Twelve Rupees,
To Non-Subscribers, Twenty-four."

This work will hereafter be referred to shortly as *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*. It is necessary to remember that this work did not bear the title of "Memoirs," and that the word "Sketches" only occurs in a subsidiary clause of the title. The pseudonym *Asiaticus* is also printed at the foot of the dedication.

The next work referred to in the note is shown as having been published in 1819. In the British Museum there is a copy dated 1818, the title-page of which runs as follows:—

"A Compendious Ecclesiastical, Chronological and Historical Sketches (*sic*) of Bengal: since the foundation of Calcutta. Printed at Calcutta. 1818."

There appears to be no other edition of this book in the British Museum or in the India Office library. A second edition, or reprint, however, seems to have been issued in 1819, as there is a copy dated that year in the Imperial Library, Calcutta (1). This book proves, after comparison, to have been merely a reprint of Part the First of *Asiaticus; In Two Parts*, that is to say a reproduction of the "ecclesiastical, chronological and historical sketches" from the book published in 1803. Part the Second, being the copies of all the epitaphs in the burial grounds in and about Calcutta, is not reprinted. On comparing the two books carefully, several omissions will be noticed in the 1818 reprint. For instance, the date and pseudonym ("Calcutta, August 22, 1802, *Asiaticus*") at the end of Chapter II; the Persian inscription on the Bandel mosque quoted in Chapter IX; the list at the end of Chapter X of "Augustine Convents in India as appears from ancient papers and the life of the Reverend Fré John de Cruz," the inscriptions in Greek characters in Chapter XII; and the whole of Chapter XIII, "on the yearly mortality at Calcutta," have been omitted from the 1818 book.

Of the third book quoted, *Calcutta in the Days of Yore, &c.*, there is a copy in the British Museum, the full title of which is:—

"Calcutta in Days of Yore. The Memoirs of *Asiaticus*; or, Ecclesiastical, Chronological and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal. Reprinted from the Indian Daily News, Saturday Evening Edition. Calcutta; Indian Daily News Press, 1869."

In a note on the first page of this reprint it is stated—"These Memoirs were published in Calcutta in 1803, pp. 142, 8vo. price 24 rupees! . . . the work

(1). On the title page of the Imperial Library copy of the 1819 edition are the words: "Henry C. Plowden, March, 1819: paid 10 Rs." The name of "H. C. Plowden, Esqr.," also appears in the list of subscribers to the 1803 edition of *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*.—ED. BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT.

is very rare and is reprinted with the addition of occasional notes” It is a reprint of Part I of *Asiaticus: in two Parts*, with some trifling omissions, the addition of a few headings, and—what tends to some confusion—the displacement of some paragraphs. The whole of Part the Second (the epitaphs) is left out, as in the case of the 1818 book. At first sight it looked as if *Calcutta in Days of Yore* had been reprinted from the 1818 book, but a closer study of all three publications indicates that it was, as it claims to have been, copied from the 1803 work.

In Archdeacon Firminger’s note three works are named; but there is a fourth, perhaps more widely known than any of the others, and more appropriately described by the brief title “Sketches of Bengal.” The full title of this book is:—“Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal, from the Earliest Settlement, until the Virtual Conquest of that Country by the English in 1757.”

Of this, at least three editions appear to have been issued, all printed at Calcutta. There is a copy in the British Museum that was printed in 1827 (the writer also has a copy of this edition); a copy in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, dated 1829 or 1827 (the last figure is indistinct); and a copy in the India Office Library dated 1831. In the title, it will be noticed, the word “Historical” takes first place, while “Chronological” is altogether omitted: the reason for this latter omission will reveal itself later. This work, like the publication of 1803, consists of two parts, namely, (1) historical sketches proper (pp. 1 to 180), and (2) miscellaneous chapters (pp. 181 to 224) comprising “The History of the Foundation of the present Church of St. John in Calcutta, &c.”; “A Table of the Chaplains of Calcutta”; “The Protestant Mission to Calcutta”; “Account of Chandernagore”; “Account of Chinsurah”; “The Portuguese of Calcutta”; “The Armenians of Calcutta”; and “The Greeks of Calcutta.” The work is obviously a compilation. I have been able to trace a considerable portion of the first, or historical part proper. For instance, pages 1 to 84, commencing with the establishment of an English factory at Patna in 1620, and dealing with the events of the administrations of the several Governors of Bengal from Sultan Shuja to the accession of Sarfaraz Khan, are taken bodily from Charles Stewart’s “History of Bengal,” with the omission of three passages; while the account of the Black Hole incident is taken word for word from Holwell’s well-known letter to Mr. Davis (leaving out about half) which had long been before the public. The details of the events of the year 1757, with the articles of treaties, copies of the correspondence that passed between the Nawab and Admiral Watson, &c., may have been compiled from other available sources, partly perhaps from Ives’ “Voyage” and other “Narratives,” and partly from State Papers and Reports (2). The compiler’s indebtedness to Stewart’s History, which first appeared in 1813, affords further evidence of the period at which he must have worked on this book. The second portion of the book is reprinted, from Part the First of *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*, but with numerous omissions. The following portions of the 1803 book, for instance,

(2). In the *East Indian Chronologist* (*v. infra*) the compiler quotes numerous authorities, such as Orme, Dow, Vansittart, Bolts, Forster, the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, State Papers, etc., etc.

are altogether omitted from the *Sketches* of 1827 (&c.):—Chapter I—Anecdotes of the Founder of Calcutta; some six paragraphs of Chapter II; the first four paragraphs of Chapter III ("An Elucidatory Paper"), as well as the heading that shows it was a letter addressed to the editor of the *Telegraph*, and the date and the initial "Z" at the end; the whole of Chapter IV, which was another letter to the editor of the *Telegraph*, signed "Britannicus"; the last seven paras. of Chapter VI; several paras. of Chapter VII; the whole of Chapter VIII (Major-General Claude Martin); and the whole of Chapter XIII (on the yearly mortality at Calcutta). Besides these, there are other smaller, but more important omissions, that will be specified in greater detail below.

The *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, published successively in 1827, 1829 and 1831, has thus been traced to its sources: but the question still remains—who was the compiler? It was published anonymously; but the second part being copied, as explained above, from *Asiaticus*; in *Two Parts*, as probably many persons recognised at the time, the work was no doubt associated with this pseudonym. Much surmise as to the identity of *Asiaticus* would have been avoided, perhaps, if more attention had been devoted to the work of 1803, and less to the subsequent publications. In explanation of this statement it will suffice to draw attention to certain points. In the 1803 book, at the end of Chapter II (in Part the First) the following date and signature occur:—"Calcutta, August 22, 1802. Asiaticus." This has not been reproduced in the books printed in 1818, 1827, &c. Again at the beginning of Chapter III in the 1803 book the heading reads: "To the Editor of the *Telegraph*"; and at the end are the date and initial "Calcutta, August 25, 1802. Z." These are omitted altogether from the 1818 and 1827 "Sketches." It is in this letter to the editor that it is stated that the writer "was in Calcutta soon after it was retaken" (*i.e.*, 1757), and "saw Omichund in 1758," clearly showing that it was not "Asiaticus" who was in Calcutta in 1757 and 1758, but the correspondent who wrote the letter. Chapter IV ("A Miscellaneous Paper") in the 1803 book similarly purports to be a letter written by "Britannicus" to the editor of the "Telegraph." In Chapter IX ("A Trip to Bandel") the dates of the visit are given as "Jan. 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1803." Referring to Chinsurah, the author writes:—"I entered Fort Gustavus at the North gate, over which is 16—oVc—87". . . . And, later on: "On the road from Hougly to Bandel is a Mosque, on the outer gate of which is the following inscription. . . . As I was transcribing, a damsel robed in drapery, purfled with gold, approached the door of the Mosque. . . . I looked at—I touched her velvet hands,—and found she was betrothed. . . ." In Chapter X, referring to the story told by the Rev. Fre Da Cruz of the return of the Portuguese to Bandel in 1633, he adds:—"I present the story to the reader as I found it in the archives of Bandel". In Chapter XII, he writes:—"The Revenues of the Greek Church at present (1802) scarcely amount to eighteen hundred rupees per annum." Other evidence may be cited, but the above quotations are sufficient to show that the writer was actually on the spot in 1802 and 1803, and, therefore, that neither Scott-Waring nor Stanhope can have

been the author. Much of the confusion and misconception of later years is doubtless due to the facts that the edition of 1869 used the title "Memoirs of Asiaticus," whereas the original was not called "Memoirs," and that the publications of 1818 and 1827 omitted certain dates and other details indicating that certain portions of the contents consisted of letters from persons other than the author or compiler.

In the British Museum Library catalogue, in the case of the 1803 work—*Asiaticus; in Two Parts*—the author's name is shown as "Asiaticus, pseud. (J. Scott-Waring?)," and in the case of the 1869 reprint of the first part thereof under the title *Calcutta in Days of Yore*, as "Asiaticus, pseud. (i.e., J. Scott-Waring)"; but the identity of the author is not suggested in case of the 1818 and 1827 publications. In William Cushing's "Initials and Pseudonyms," the only name associated with this pseudonym is John Scott Waring, but the specific publications dealt with in this article are not named; nor are they quoted in Halkett and Laing.

The last clause in the dedication of *Asiaticus; in Two Parts* led the writer to make further search for evidence as to the identity of the mysterious author. The dedication is as follows:—

"In the forty-fifth year
of the British Empire
in Bengal
and at a time that it shone
in full lustre,
during the government of
Marquis Wellesley,
this compilation was made.
These ecclesiastical records,
and these memorials of the departed friends
and relations
of the inhabitants of Calcutta,
I dedicate to them
who have thrice liberally supported
my literary undertakings.
Asiaticus.
Calcutta, May 1st. 1803."

If only the file of the "Telegraph" for 1802 were available, considerable further light might be thrown on the evolution of the book, but an attempt to trace copies of that paper has not been successful (3). In the British Museum, however, I found a copy of *The East Indian Chronologist*, the authorship of which is ascribed to a "Mr. Hawksworth" in an article on Calcutta and its localities in an old number of the *Calcutta Review* (see Vol. XVIII, p. 279). The title-page of this publication is to some extent suggestive, so it is given in full:—

(3). Search for these files in Calcutta has, unhappily, been equally fruitless.—Ep. B. P. and P.

"THE EAST INDIAN CHRONOLOGIST,

where the Historical events respecting the East India Company, are briefly arranged in succession from the date of their Charter in 1600, to the 4th of June, 1801, with other particulars necessary to be known, as interesting to the Inhabitants of India. Collected from the various Publications now extant.

In Two Parts.

Part the First :

Occurrences under the House of Stuart.

Part the Second :

Occurrences under the House of Hanover.

Calcutta.

Printed at the Hircarrah Press.

1801."

It may strike the reader that there is a faint resemblance in arrangement and phraseology (note the peculiar use of the word "respecting") between this title-page and that of *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*. The chronological record of events is distinctive. It is when we come to the "Addenda" that the similarity becomes marked and indeed unmistakeable. For instance, the note on the Armenian Church in Calcutta (p. 80) and the letter that follows, dated Calcutta, March 25th, 1802, from M. C. Arackel, contain internal evidence of having been the foundation of the more detailed account of the Armenians of Calcutta given in Chapter XI of the 1803 book. The reference to the inscription on the Greek Church is made in the same words ("It bears in the front the following inscription : ") while the inscription itself, the Greek lettering, the printing of a capital Greek ρ (representing 80 in the date) instead of a small ρ, in both books, and the very peculiar use of large and small capitals in the English translation, are strikingly identical. Appendix I ("Anecdotes of the Founder of Calcutta"), dated, be it noted, Calcutta, April 6th, 1802, and signed "H," is practically identical with Chapter I on the same subject in the later book; while Appendix II, on the subject of the tombs, is word for word the same as the first paragraph in Part the Second of the 1803 book. The inscriptions Nos. I to 37 have also been reproduced exactly in the latter. And so on. At the end of Appendix II is the initial "H." At the close of the chronological record of events is a note, signed "H".—"Compiled in Calcutta in 1801, and printed there in 1801-02." The following passage may be quoted from the preface :—"The critic will recollect my means have ever been slender, and that books in this country are at an exorbitant price. If I live, I will continue to make every amendment in my power, and give a future edition more worthy of public notice." In addition to the three instances noticed above, the initial "H." occurs some eight or nine times in the body of the chronological record, where the compiler has added a comment or an expression of his own sentiments.

Did this initial stand for Hawksworth, the name mentioned in the *Calcutta Review* article? Curiously, on the title-page of the copy of this book in the

British Museum somebody has written in pencil "By Hicky"! (4) Several days' search through contemporary literature revealed no Mr. Hawkesworth as living in Calcutta in those days. But what appears to be an important clue was discovered later. In the British Museum there is a copy of twelve numbers, with part of the thirteenth, bound together, of "The Hindoostanee Intelligencer, and Oriental Anthology, etc. Calcutta: Printed by Thomas Hollingberry. Hircarrah Press. 1801."

In No. X of this periodical (p. 120) there is a review notice (actually written in 1802, as is clear from the dates given in other articles and items of country news) of the publication of the book entitled *The East Indian Chronologist*, the full title being printed as already given above. In commending the work to the public, the reviewer adds:—"The ingenious author, Mr. John Hawkesworth, has been so long known in the world of letters, as a poet and a scholar, that it is unnecessary for us to add an elaborate elogy (*sic*), to the many tributes of applause which he has already received."

By the courtesy of Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., I was able to look through the manuscript Lists of Europeans in India in the Records Department of the India Office. I did not find the name John Hawkesworth in any of the extant lists of the period: possibly a more careful search may disclose it. The name, again, does not appear to be shown in the volumes in that library of *The East India Register and Directory*, prior and up to 1804. But in the two volumes for 1805, corrected, respectively, up to the 8th November, 1804, and the 14th May, 1805, under the heading "Bengal. European Inhabitants" (that is to say, other than Civil or Military Servants) this entry occurs:—"Hawkesworth, John, Calcutta." (5)

The name does not seem to appear in the subsequent issues of this Register. It is possible that some reader may now be able to throw further light on the identity and career of John Hawkesworth. Was he, perchance, a relative or descendant of the well-known essayist, John Hawkesworth, who was appointed a Director of the East India Company in April, 1773 (the year in which he died), but who, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, "took no active part in their proceedings?"

It is, perhaps, a remarkable circumstance that, while the events recorded year by year in the *East Chronologist* are ordinarily such as may be described as being of historical importance, and the persons referred to are generally persons who have played conspicuous parts on the Indian stage, there is recorded, under the date November the 16th, 1773, the death of "that distinguished East Indian Director, Doctor John Hawkesworth," with details as to

(4). In Col. H. D. Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras" (Vol. II. p. 351) the authorship of the "East Indian Chronologist" is attributed to Thomas Hickey, the portrait-painter. But he was in Madras, and not in Calcutta in 1801. —ED. B. P. and P.

(5). The following entry may be found under the heading of "Deaths in 1804" in the Calcutta Directory of 1805: "May 30.—Between Sultanpore and Benares, Mr. John Hawkesworth, author of several publications." —ED. B. P. and P.

his literary work, and the full inscription on the monument erected to his memory at Bromley in Kent. Mention is made of his having been employed to compile a digest of the voyages of Commodore Byron and Captains Wallis, Carteret and Cooke, "the property of which he sold for 6,000£": "but that compilation did not meet with the applause which his former writings have so justly received. Chagrin at its ill reception increased (*sic*) the sickness which proved fatal to this admired writer." This reads as if our compiler "H." was at least particularly familiar with the affairs of Dr. John Hawkesworth.

Was he, further, related to the Samuel Hawkesworth of Calcutta, whose wife, Caroline, was buried at Chandernagore in 1837? or to the J. Hawkesworth who served (as Mr. S. C. Hill has very kindly pointed out to me) many years in Travancore as a C. M. S. Missionary?

It may be further noted that entries in the *East Indian Chronologist* tell us that the compiler, on the 26th October, 1794, "witnessed the battle of Beetorah in which 7,000 of the English troops under Sir Robert Abercromby, K.B. defeated 21,000 Rohillahs, under the usurping Rohillah Chief, Gholam Mahomed"; and that he witnessed an awe-inspiring dust-storm at Futty Ghur on May the 15th, 1795. Unfortunately he does not tell us in what capacity he was present on these occasions.

Before we know more about our compiler, it would be premature to determine whether it was he who had the first part of the 1803 book reprinted in 1818 (and 1819) as the *Compendious . . . Sketches*, or whether it was he who collected the historical matter that forms the first part, the great bulk, of the 1827, etc. work: possibly this was the work of another hand.

Leaving out of consideration Philip Dormer Stanhope's letters, which clearly stand apart, this article may be regarded as concerned primarily with five publications.

- (1). *The East Indian Chronologist*. Calcutta, Hircarrah Press, 1801.
- (2). *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*. Calcutta, Telegraph Press, 1803.
- (3). *A Compendious Ecclesiastical, Chronological and Historical Sketches*. Calcutta, 1818, and 1819.
- (4). *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*. Calcutta, 1827, 1829 and 1831.
- (5). *Calcutta in Days of Yore, etc.* Calcutta, Indian Daily News Press, 1869.

All that the present investigations claim to show is that the third book is a reprint, incomplete in some respects, of the first part of the second; that the fifth is but a reprint, under a somewhat misleading title, of the same part of the second; and that the second part of the fourth is taken from the same source, the first, or historical part proper having been compiled from other publications; while the first part of the second itself has developed from material collected during the compilation of the first. In other words, "Part the First" of the second book which bears the distinct imprint of the hand that compiled the first, is the basis of the third and the fifth and of the second part of the fourth. We would thus seem led to conclude that the original research

and compilation bearing upon the history of the ecclesiastical institutions at Calcutta, of the Portuguese, Armenians and Greeks there, and of the neighbouring towns, as well as the diligent record of the epitaphs in the many burial grounds, which have proved the chief, the ever abiding, interest in these several books, was made by a Mr. John Hawkesworth, who was the author of *The East Indian Chronologist* (6).

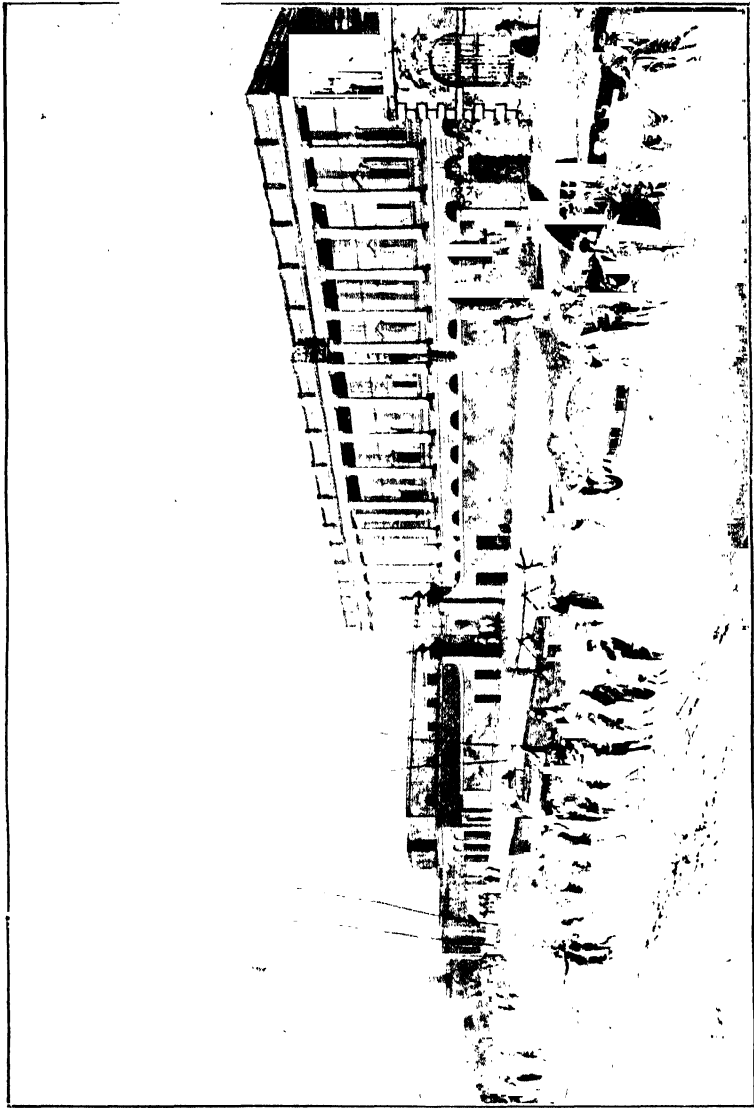
It only remains to draw attention to the potential value of the records contained in the second part of *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*, of the epitaphs in the burial grounds in and around Calcutta. These include St. John's Church (37); the Monument, front and rear inscriptions; the Great Burial Ground, Chowringhee, (255 + 14); the Mission Burial Ground, Chowringhee, commonly called Mr. Kiernander's (7); the New Burial Ground, Chowringhee (32 + 2); Mr. Tiretta's Burial Garden (5); the Hospital Burial Ground (21); the Church of the Virgin Mary of Rosary (30); the Portuguese Burial Ground (3); the Sarcellum of the Holy Transfiguration (4, in Greek); the Orphan Burial Ground, Howrah (2); Dum Dum (4); Barrackpore (23); Serampore (5); Chandernagore (7); Chinsurah (24); the Convent of Bandel (4); Appendix (10); Errata (7); and, lastly, "translations from Arabic into Persian," with English translations by Dr. John Gilchrist, of three inscriptions at Gour. It may be found worth while, after comparing these with other extant lists of inscriptions, to have at least this part of the book (if not both parts) republished.

C. E. A. W. O.

(6). There is a copy of the "East Indian Chronologist: in Two Parts" (Calcutta 1801), in Archbishop Goethals' Library: with regard to which the Rev. Father G. Dandoy, S.J., the librarian, writes:

"The name of the author is not given on the title page. In our catalogue the book is mentioned under the name Hawkesworth. A slip, in the hand-writing, I think, of Archbishop Goethals, has been inserted: "Mr. Hawkesworth (cf. Derozario's Complete Monumental Register, Introd. 1815)." But, on looking up this latter book, I find that Mr. Hawkesworth is quoted, not as the author of the "Chronologist" but as the author of "Asiaticus" (the 1803 edition). I imagine that the slip has lost its way from one book to the other. In our catalogue, *Asiaticus* comes under the name Hawkesworth."

Thanks are due to Father Dandoy for the ready loan of both the volumes.—ED. B. P. and P.



THE NEW COURT HOUSE [SUPREME COURT] 1787
(From Thomas Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta.")

The Memoirs of William Hickey.

THE first volume of these delightful memoirs appeared in 1913; and exactly ten years later the third has been published. A fourth is promised at an early date. The whole series has been deservedly successful in producing something like a literary sensation; and that for several reasons. Firstly, the memoirs do for the life of eighteenth century England (that is from 1749 to 1800) what the diary of Samuel Pepys did for that of the seventeenth; and they lack nothing of the candour displayed by that gossiping old courtier and official of the time of Charles the Second. But the life described by Hickey is not confined to England. He knew Jamaica; and he made several voyages to and from the East Indies, travelling as far as Canton and living for considerable periods in Madras and Calcutta. Secondly, these memoirs have still some air of mystery. The publisher has not yet taken the public fully into his confidence. The owner of the original manuscript is not known to any one save the editors; and concerning this manuscript we are told that it is written in Hickey's own hand on hundreds of folio pages that run consecutively. These pages have been accurately reproduced with certain omissions that have been noted; and the only alteration in the original text is said to be its division into volumes and chapters. All suspicion, then, of a gigantic literary hoax may be dismissed at once. Hickey was an authentic member of English society in Calcutta; but those interested in the literary monuments of this period would dearly like to see a page or two of his memoirs reproduced in facsimile, and cannot understand why the history of the manuscript of these memoirs is still regarded as a sacred secret.

The *Introduction* to the first volume is in Hickey's own words. Very briefly he tells of his retirement to England and a country village, of the boredom of inactivity after a busy and adventurous life, and of his resolve to write his autobiography. He speaks of his having "scarcely any memorandum whatever to assist in the execution of such a plan, at least for the early and greater part of my life"; but, in spite of this drawback, he maintains that he could recollect "the most material circumstances" of his career; and that "there is not a single fact recorded in the following sheets that is not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, most truly and correctly stated." The memoirs, he continues perhaps by way of apology for their candour, were written solely for his own amusement. Hickey left India in 1808. He was born in 1749; and so we must picture to ourselves a retired Anglo-Indian of about sixty years of age, whose life had been anything but

The Memoirs of William Hickey: edited by Alfred Spencer:

Volume I.—1749-75—published in 1913.

Volume II.—1775-82—published in 1918.

Volume III.—1782-90—published in 1923.

London, Hurst and Blackett, Fifteen shillings net each.

tame, settling down to produce reminiscences that covered the second half of the 18th century, and that dealt with some of the most stirring events in the history of the British Empire in India. Apparently he himself had no thought of publishing his work; but fortunately he did not destroy his manuscript, and he must have known that it would pass into the hands of his executors and at least run the risk of publication. In his introduction he foresaw the chance of this, and begs his possible readers of the future to remember that he was writing solely for his own amusement. Nothing better could have been done to ensure the delighted curiosity of posterity; and, whatever his real intention in taking to literature, Hickey now belongs to the select company of English writers of letters, journals, memoirs and all those intimate and unpretentious documents that bring the human element into history and illumine the dark highways and byways of the past. His work does a double service to the student of history. It combines the most vivid descriptions of London life at one of the most roguish periods in our annals with faithful pictures of that greater England that came to birth in the eighteenth century. The wide interests of John Company, with a charter that embraced the Eastern Seas as far as Japan, are explained in these pages; and that adventurous, yet luxurious life of the East Indiaman, with its leisured and chequered progress from London to the Cape, Madras, Calcutta and Canton, has resurrected for the amusement and instruction of the fortnightly Peninsular and Oriental tripper. Hickey wrote in the first quarter of the nineteenth century; and, while his work is unique both in its range and in the variety of its interest, he stands not alone as an interpreter or describer of English life in the East. The time of his retirement was a time of immense curiosity towards oriental things. The ambition of Napoleon had brought Egypt, Syria, Persia and even India into the very foreground of foreign politics. The Battle of the Nile and the defence of Acre had, by the splendour of their heroic achievement, made the Levantine sea-board a centre of peculiar interest. Repeated English embassies to Persia had been designed to frustrate French diplomacy at the court of the Shah. Sir William Jones had introduced England to the classic literature of the East; and Southey and Moore were vainly trying to write descriptive poems on Indian subjects which they knew only at second hand. Thomas and William Daniell, artists of repute, and in time Royal Academicians, found sufficient encouragement in the general interest in the East to spend ten years of strenuous travel in India, the results of which they embodied in 1808, in their famous *Oriental Scenery*. That indefatigable traveller and student, Thomas Hope, had devoted much of his wealth and leisure to the description of the nearer east. His *Anastasius*, completed in 1796 and not published until 1819, had given a vivid and accurate account of Moslem life in Constantinople, Cairo and the ports of the Syrian coast. James Justinian Morier, as secretary of various embassies to Teheran, was amassing that curious and intimate knowledge of Persian manners and character that was to make *Hajji Baba* the greatest novel ever written of oriental life. Even Sir Walter Scott, in spite of his declaration in the preface to the *Talisman* that he would never write on

any country the customs of which were not known to him at first hand, had been drawn in *The Surgeon's Daughter* to describe the court and campaigns of Hyder Ali. Literature apart, the stirring events in India at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century had turned all eyes towards John Company and its territories, where the French had allied with Tippu Sultan, and both by gold and troops were aiding the "Tiger of Mysore" against Wellesley and the future victor of Waterloo. Hickey, then, lived in an atmosphere of intense excitement concerning Eastern things; and, had he chosen to publish his memoirs himself, he would have found a public already educated in the literature dealing with the East, and only too willing to welcome his intimate reminiscences.

His work was completed sometime between the years 1808-13; and as it was produced as a continuous manuscript (although it now appears in three volumes), let us begin our study of its pages by mapping out the territory, so to speak, and thus discovering what proportion of the memoirs relate to India and the affairs of John Company. Up to date there are 1,127 octavo pages; and the topics described are as follows:—

The First Three
Volumes of the Memoirs,
their plan and scope.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--|-----------------------|---|
| Vol. I.
(1749-75) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Boyhood, early training in law, dissipation in town, appointment as a cadet to the East India Company's service: (1-138) (2) First voyage to India and Madras, visiting the Island of Johanna, 1769; life in Madras, abandons cadetship, sails for China, Canton and Robert Pott, return to England, voyage home by St. Helena, 1770. (138-250) (3) London in 1770, social life, the Mohawks, admitted an attorney, sails for Jamaica. (250-338) | Vol. II.
(1775-82) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (4) Atlantic voyage, 1775, Kingston, life in Jamaica, sugar plantations, negro slaves, return to England, old friends, preparations for second voyage to the East: (1-104) (5) Voyage to Calcutta, Cape Town, The Hooghly, introduction to Hastings, Impey and Francis, Calcutta life, Nuncomar, Grand's divorce case, Bengal Marine, Hicky the journalist, Petition for Trial by Jury, return to England, 1779, Voyage by Cape Town and Holland, London, 1780. (104-244) (6) Old life resumed, Emily Warren, Bob Pott, Bath, Barwell and the Select Committee, 1782, Charlotte Barry, Leaves Lisbon in June, 1782, for Calcutta: (244-395) |
|----------------------|--|-----------------------|---|

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| | } | (7) Voyage to Calcutta, Pages
1782, via Madras and
Ceylon, taken by the
French, Trincomalee, (1-145)
Admiral Suffren,
Madras, Sir Eyre
Coote, Sir Edward
Hughes, Life in Mad-
ras, "Pott's Folly"
continuation of jour-
ney to Calcutta. |
| Vol. III.
(1782-90) | | (8) Resumption of work,
sets up house with (140-394)
Charlotte, Hickey's
libel action, Char-
lotte's social suc-
cesses, her death, the
theatre, Sir Robert
Chambers, Mr. Jus-
tice Hyde, Colonel
Watson's death, Bob
Pott in Murshidabad,
Lord Cornwallis, Cal-
cutta life in general. |

This tabular statement shows that little more than half of the memoirs is concerned with India. Hickey's life in town, and his voyage to and residence in Jamaica, cover about 481 pages; while his residence in India, including his journeys to and from London and Canton, is described in about 646. The proportion is roughly that of 3 to 4. It appears that at the age of twenty, Hickey made his first voyage to Madras and the Far East. He embarked on "The Flying Plassey," a particularly fast sailer, in January 1769, and left in the same vessel for China in July of that year, reaching Canton on the 11th of August. He left Canton in December 1769, and was in England in April of the next year. This journey which lasted for fifteen months cannot be regarded as anything more important than a sea-trip; but it is of great value in giving us a life-like picture of the voyage of an East Indiaman right into the China seas. Seven years were to pass before Hickey again thought of India. His second voyage began in May, 1777; and he arrived at Calcutta in October where he remained for about two years, returning to England early in 1780. Two years later he was back again in Calcutta where the third volume of the memoirs leaves him in 1790. In all, then, if we eliminate the trip to and from Jamaica, we have to deal with five eastern voyages; to Canton and back; to Calcutta and back; and to Calcutta again. Of these the first two are fully described in 125 pages. The third is briefly touched upon. The fourth covers about 60 pages including a visit to Holland; and the fifth gives a splendid account of a journey from Lisbon to Ceylon Madras and Calcutta when the French Admiral Suffren was cruising in the region of Trincomalee. Hickey was captured by the French, and spreads his varied adventures as a privileged prisoner over 140 pages of the third volume. Purely as a work of travel, then, these memoirs are of great interest and value. We cannot know enough about the great ocean-highways that were the arteries of our commercial life in the 18th century; and the ceremonial that attended the East Indiaman is full

of meaning and significance for the student of John Company's maturity. Hickey's actual residence in India did not begin until 1777, for we may almost disregard his youthful experiences for a few weeks in Madras. In Calcutta he lived for two years, returning to London in 1780; and he did not take up permanent residence in Calcutta, until, with his "beloved Charlotte," he set up house in 1782 remaining from this date until 1790. What happened after 1790 the fourth and last volume will reveal. It is clear, then, that Hickey's earlier Indian experiences were in the nature of unexpected adventures of no long duration. He was never dulled by the routine of the East; and in retirement it was easy for him to recall every vivid incident that belonged to such unforgettable experiences as the "round trip" to Canton, his capture by Admiral Suffren, and his arrival in the Calcutta of Hastings, Francis and Impey. To his own wayward character, and to the accident of his treating his Madras cadetship with contempt, we owe in great measure the extraordinary variety and charm of these memoirs.

In the ordinary course this review should be confined to Hickey's descriptions of life in Bengal; but as so much of these memoirs relates to the London of the late eighteenth century, and as in that London

The Idle Apprentice. John Company was wont to recruit its servants, it is necessary to glance, if briefly, at Hickey's early life and education, and at his experiences when he returned, as in 1770 and in 1780, to England. He was born in 1749, the year of the publication of *Tom Jones*. His father was Irish, educated at the University of Dublin and by profession a solicitor. His mother belonged to the Yorkshire family of Boulton. His father's business was lucrative, and Hickey had every advantage attaching to wealth and position. He just missed being sent to school at the house of the poet, Charles Churchill, that notorious satirist of the eighteenth century "who blazed, the comet of a season"; but finally he was despatched in January of the year 1757, along with his two brothers, to Westminster. Here the famous Robert Lloyd was an usher, the poet whom Cowper so gracefully remembers in one of his earlier short poems as

Born true heir and single
Of dear Mat Prior's easy jingle.

Lloyd took a deep-rooted dislike to the young Hickey who probably deserved the floggings that were duly administered; but he certainly turned his pupil's mind for ever away from scholarship. Hickey was present with his parents at the Coronation of George the Third; and in 1763 was forced to leave Westminster as an incorrigible idler and dunce. He was again put to school at Streatham where, after several highly entertaining experiences chiefly of an amorous sort, he was apprenticed to the Law. By this time he was seventeen years of age, and began to blossom forth as a youth of promise. He writes as follows: "I was further gratified by having my hair tied, turned over my forehead, powdered, pomatumed, and with three curls on each side, with a thick false tail, my operator being Nerot, a fashionable French hairdresser and peruke-maker justly considered the best in London. And thus equipped,

I came forth a smart and dashing clerk to an Attorney." At this time Thurlow, an old Westminster boy and the friend of the poet Cowper, was rising into eminence, backed in his profession by Hickey's father. The future Lord Chancellor was as good at the bottle as he was at his briefs, and the young Hickey had to track him down in many a suspicious tavern to compel him to attend to a special case. The apprentice was not slow to follow the example of his seniors, and dissipation of every kind (described with an amazing candour and much racy detail) soon led Hickey into debt. At once the East was thought of as a career for such a youth of promise; and through the intervention of Sir George Colebrooke, one of the Company's Directors, and of Mr. Laurence Sulivan, a cadetship in Madras was secured. Did not the great Clive come out to India in much the same way? And who are we to criticise the rough and ready methods of appointment by nomination? Here are these methods fully described in Hickey's own words: "I attended before a Committee of Directors to undergo the usual examination as a cadet. Being called into the Committee room after a waiting of near two hours in the lobby, at which my pride was greatly offended, I saw three old Dons sitting close to the fire, having by them a large table, with pens, ink, paper, and a number of books lying upon it. Having surveyed me, as I conceived, rather contemptuously, one of them in such a snivelling strange tone that I could scarcely understand him, said:

"Well, young gentleman, what is your age?"

Having answered "Nineteen," he continued:

"Have you ever served, I mean been in the army? Though I presume from your age and appearance you cannot."

I replied, "I had not."

"Can you go through the manual exercise?"

"No sir."

"Then you must take care and learn it."

I bowed.

"You know the terms upon which you enter our service?"

"Yes, sir,"

"Are you satisfied therewith?"

"Yes, Sir."

A Clerk who was writing at the table then told men I might withdraw, whereupon I made my *congé* and retired."

On the strength of this interview Hickey was given his cadetship in Madras which he reached in the early summer of 1769. Peace having been made with Hyder Ali, things military were dull enough, and a cadetship, as he was duly warned, held out no hope of early advancement. He was advised to return to Europe and secure an appointment as writer; and, in disgust with Madras and its total absence of comfort, he re-embarked on the *Plassey* then bound for Canton. He seems to have made no arrangements with the authorities and to have treated his appointment with the utmost contempt.

Hickey's chief concern on reaching England, after nothing more than an extended joy-ride in an East Indiaman and the completest neglect of his duties, was to face his father. The old gentleman had attained to eminence in his profession, and moved in the most interesting sections of London society. He was the intimate friend of Edmund Burke and of Sir Joshua Reynolds who painted his portrait and those of his two daughters.* To these ladies, the Misses Hickey, there is a brief reference in Farington's Diary for the 10th of August 1796. They are spoken of as "writing from Bath where they are with Mr. Burke that he is in a very bad state of health and that they are apprehensive of a decline." The editor of Farington notes that these ladies were probably the sisters of Thomas Hickey the artist whom Burke assisted, but the context more surely indicates relationship with Joseph Hickey, the father of our hero of the memoirs, and Burke's personal friend. Joseph Hickey joined in much of the convivial literary club life of the time, frequently meeting Goldsmith who has given him a place in his well known poem, *Retaliation* :

Here Hickey reclines, a most blunt, pleasant creature,
And slander itself must allow him good nature :
He cherished his friend, and he relished a bumper;
Yet one fault he had, and that one was a thumper.
Then what was his failing? Come, tell it, and burn ye !
He was, could he help it,—a special attorney.

A happy picture of a good natured gentleman of the old school who all too readily forgave his scape-grace son. The latter, in spite of much dissipation, pulled himself together; and after a farcical examination, was admitted to the Roll of Attornies of the Court of King's Bench, preparatory to his departure for practice in Jamaica, at that time a lucrative centre for legal work. Here he remained for little more than a year, returning to begin his East Indian career and his first voyage to Calcutta. It is clear that these frequent returns to London, whose pleasures were accentuated by long periods of exile, impressed the main events of his time forcibly on Hickey's mind. He gives us the clearest possible account of the Wilkes mob and of the Gordon rioters. The "Mohawks" live as veritable personages whom he himself knew; and the tavern life of the day, as well as most haunts of fashion, are revived with an amazing realism in his vivid pages. This realism extends to his treatment of all questions of sex. He is just as outspoken on matters of love and marriage as the great Fielding himself whose immortal *Tom Jones* was published in 1749 the year of Hickey's birth. Writing for his own amusement, he saw no reason to restrain his pen, or to tell anything short of the truth in the narrative of his lusty youth. For this reason it is questionable whether the memoirs should be given as a Christmas gift to one's maiden

*These two portraits are both reproduced in the second volume of the memoirs, (pages 246 and 296).

aunt. The reader must decide this question for himself, secure in the thought that Hickey would have been serenely undisturbed by the knowledge that our curious modern age with its hypocrisy, prudery and humbug might be made aware of his amours. His habit of outspokenness brings many a lady of easy virtue to our acquaintance of whom two lived to play no inconsiderable part in the life of Bengal. The first was Emily Warren, the mistress of his friend Robert Pott whom he first met as a youth of fourteen in Canton. The story of this lady, the model of Sir Joshua Reynold's *Thais*, has been told in detail in Volume XXV of *Bengal Past and Present*. She died in Bengal, the monument known as "Pott's Folly" at Kulpi commemorating the precise place of her death on the Hooghly. The second was Charlotte Barry, the mistress of Captain Henry Mordaunt, the brother of that Colonel Mordaunt who figures in Zoffany's famous picture of the cock-fight. This lady, as high-spirited as she was unfortunate, fell passionately in love with Hickey, but fearing his later remorse in view of the circumstances in which he had found her, she refused to be married to him. Hickey took her to Calcutta where, in 1782, along with his "beloved Charlotte," he set up house, the happy couple being received with all forms of social observance. She died on the 25th of December, 1783, before her twenty second birth-day, and was buried as "Mrs. Charlotte Hickey, leaving a truly disconsolate husband bitterly and incessantly to deplore her loss."

In a brief review it is not possible to describe all Hickey's voyages in detail; but it is necessary to select from each separate voyage such items of special interest as are likely to throw light upon the method of travel by sea in the East Indiamen of John Company's day. The Plassey, in which Hickey made his first voyage, did not touch at the Cape.

Details of Interest in
Hickey's Voyages.

The wind being favourable the Captain refused to waste his chance of a speedy voyage, and bore up for the Mozambique Channel and the little known island of Johanna. This is the central island of the Comoro group which lies precisely midway between the north point of Madagascar and the African coast line, roughly in latitude 12, longitude 44. At their convenience East Indiamen were accustomed to put in here for fresh supplies of fruit, vegetables and fowls; but very little has been written either of its beauty or utility. Here the Plassey stayed for three days, Hickey going ashore to visit the island and barely escaping drowning in a ridiculous escapade in a canoe. He refers to "a most elegant and poetical description" of the island given by Sir William Jones; and those interested in these voyages would do well to refer to the latter's admirable "Remarks on the Island of Hunzuan or Johanna" written presumably for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Jones visited the island called successively Hunzuan, Anzuame, Anjuan, Juanny and lastly Johanna, in July of the year 1783, and found it inhabited by Arabs whose priests could read Arabic and who greatly appreciated Sir William Jones' translations of their manuscripts and inscriptions. They carried on a vigorous slave trade, and trafficked with the East Indiamen in fresh fruits and vegetables.

In Madras Hickey became the guest of the captain of the *Plassey* who received a salute of nine guns on landing; and after a stay of about two months he re-embarked on the same ship under the same captain for China. At this stage we must revise our ideas of the area over which John Company operated. The first Charter of 1600 gave immensely wide privileges in the Eastern seas, nor were these curtailed in 1704-8 when the United East India Company was formed. The maps of the 18th century reveal the situation of factories from Mocha, Bussorah and Ormuz, to Canton in China and Firando in Japan. Anjengo on the extreme south-west coast of India was well known, as were Achin and Bencoolen in Sumatra, Bantam in Java, Macassar in the Celebes and Pulo Kondor off the mouth of the Mekong. Into these regions of the far east Hickey was now to adventure. It is interesting to follow the stages of this voyage. After five days out from Madras the *Plassey* sighted Pulo Penang at the mouth of the straits of Malacca. This was Prince of Wales Island, then known as the *Montpelier of India* where invalids were sent to recruit. The Dutch settlement of Malacca was next visited, "a neat pretty looking town." Here they stayed four days, replenishing their water casks. A heavy typhoon met them in the China seas before they passed the Ladrone Islands; but this they contrived to weather and reached the Macao Roads and Whampoa after a voyage of thirty-three days from Madras. Canton was now eighteen miles distant; and here Hickey met for the first time the high-spirited Robert Pott, then a youth of fourteen, who found Chinaware so cheap that he never drank twice from the same cup! This young gentleman became the sworn friend of Hickey, the companion of his revels in London, and finally his princely host, when as resident at the Murshidabad durbar, he moved with a perpetual escort of sixty horse, amassed a fortune and left the Company in disgrace.

The next voyage of Hickey that calls for special comment is that of 1782, when he returned to Calcutta with Charlotte Barry and fell into French hands off Ceylon. His account of the French fleet under the famous Suffren, who is described with great vigour and detail, is a valuable contribution to the history of the British Empire in India. Not less interesting are his experiences at Balasore on this voyage which are well worth scrutiny as they throw a curious light upon the navigation of the Hooghly at that time. His vessel was the *Tortoise* from Madras, a store-ship, which on reaching Balasore Roads on the 2nd of June found no pilot. For days they hung off the coast, finally despatching the long boat with the boatswain and four men under charge of an old Bengali Serang who declared that he knew the river. The long boat reached Calcutta and claimed a pilot from the Master Attendant. A vessel was despatched and barely escaped shipwreck on the *James and Mary* "where she lay aground two entire days and nights," but got away with "the springs." After again grounding below Kedgerree, the pilot at last reached the *Tortoise* where the Captain, learning of his adventures in the river, took action as follows: "Captain Serocold upon hearing so extraordinary an account of the pilot's

conduct on his way down, sent for him upon the quarter-deck, and calling for the boatswain he directed that officer to have a rope reeved to the main-yard-arm with a running noose, which being immediately done, he turned to the pilot and said, 'You have already, in my opinion, proved yourself a very worthless scoundrel. You see that rope I have just ordered to be rigged out? Now, by God! if you run my ship on shore between this and Culpee, the instant she takes the ground shall be the last of your life, for I'll certainly hang you at that yardarm!' Rough measures indeed! But from these has been evolved the great Pilot Service of Bengal, as different in its methods from those of 1782 as the modern city of palaces is from that of Hastings and Impey.

In reviewing the life of Hickey in Calcutta there are two main periods to consider. The first begins in 1777, and ends two years later with his return to England as the bearer of a petition to Parliament from the English residents of Bengal on the question of trial by jury. The second begins in 1782, and continues until 1790 throughout the third volume of the memoirs. The fourth volume, when it appears, will reveal whether Hickey returned to England before leaving India for good in 1808. The *Calcutta Gazette* for the 8th of February of this year shows that he was on the list of passengers on the *Castle Eden*, an Indiaman commanded by Captain Richard Colnett, which arrived home on the 18th of August; after which date he did not return to the East. In the first period, then, we have the governorship of Warren Hastings following upon the famous Regulating Act of 1773 and the appointment of the Council consisting of Francis, Monson and Clavering (the three members appointed in England) which was destined to give so much trouble to the experienced head of the administration. Readers of the Creevey Papers will remember the remark attributed to Lord Thurlow in the House of Lords: "It was the greatest misfortune to England and India, that the ship which carried these three gentlemen out did not go to the bottom." It is curious that Dr. Busteed's careful researches into the history of this period has not revealed more detail relating to Hickey, as the latter had a prominent place amongst the most interesting men and events of his time. He refers to him once only, in a footnote on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons published in 1782, as having given evidence upon the disgraceful state of the Calcutta jails, stating that "A Mr. W. Hicky testified" before this committee. This must be our hero of the memoirs who was in England in 1782 expressly for this purpose. Let us follow his life in Calcutta from 1777, noting what he has to say on the leading men of that time, and his impressions of the manners and customs of the town.

He was put up on arrival at Garden Reach by Colonel Watson, almost on the very day of General Clavering's death. Watson introduced Hickey to Warren Hastings and Barwell. "When at the house of the latter he observed to me in a whisper: 'The owner is an infamous scoundrel, I feel a strong inclination, instead of paying him the compliment of a visit, to tell my opinion of him. However, I suspect he is aware of the sentiments I entertain respecting

him, and that I visit the public station he fills, not the individual '." Watson's knowledge of Philip Francis, which Hickey duly records, throws additional light upon the character of this thoroughly unpleasant person. He (Watson) had been patronised in London by Lord Clive, who introduced him to Mr. Welbore Ellis, the Secretary for War, arranging for his leave of absence so that he might accompany Clive to Bengal. On calling upon Ellis at the War Office, the following incident took place which is best told in the words of Hickey himself. " Watson waited upon the Secretary at War, who received him with the utmost politeness, giving him a line to the chief clerk in a particular department to supply the necessary papers. This clerk happened to be Mr. Philip Francis, a pompous, haughty coxcomb, who, very unlike Mr. Ellis, received Mr. Watson with much superciliousness of manners, by some described as " insolence of office." Being obliged to accept the Secretary's note he did so, but instantly laid it down upon his desk without perusal, whereupon Mr. Watson civilly requested his immediate attention to his business, every minute being of importance. Thus urged, he did condescend to read Mr. Ellis's note, after which he coolly and deliberately referred to three or four large manuscript books, examined them in several different parts, then turning to Watson, said: ' You are all wrong in applying here, your leave of absence must come from the Master-General of the Ordnance not the Secretary at War.' ' Upon my word, Sir,' answered Watson, ' I must think Mr. Ellis is well acquainted with the duties of his office, and not likely to make the mistake you charge him with. However, be that as it may, I cannot lose my time in discussing matters of form with you,' and seizing Mr. Ellis's note from the desk, he instantly ran with it back to that gentleman, Mr Francis calling after him not to be in such a hurry. Watson having stated what had occurred, the Secretary rang his bell with some violence, desiring Mr. Francis might come to him, which he directly did, when Mr. Ellis said, ' I sent this gentleman with an order to you to fill up a permission for him to go to India without prejudice to his rank in the King's service, instead of doing which you have insolently and presumptuously opposed your opinion, thereby betraying your ignorance as well as impertinence, for which I am inclined to punish you as you deserve. Go along, and do as you are ordered without comment, and be upon your guard in future, for should a similar behaviour occur you remain not another hour in the War Office.' The humbled and mortified clerk bowed and retired. He forthwith drew the paper, sulkily chucking it across his desk to Watson, and observing, ' You were in a damned hurry.' Mr. Watson merely replied, ' True, I was, and am.' This circumstance the Colonel thought might have made too strong an impression upon Francis's mind ever to be forgotten, and now that they were about to meet, both in elevated stations, he apprehended Mr. Francis would show that he did recollect it by his treatment of him. Mr. Francis, however, if he did recognize his old War Office acquaintance, betrayed not the smallest sign of his so doing. He received him with the utmost respect, and was upon all occasions a strenuous supporter of the Colonel's plans."

Hickey's first introduction to Philip Francis was none of the pleasantest; but it is full of interesting detail and throws further light upon the character of Hastings' famous opponent and co-evil. "On the 8th I went to Mr. Francis's public breakfast, it being the custom in those days for the Governor-General and members of Council to receive visits of compliment or strangers for introduction at breakfast, each having one morning a week for the purpose. Mr. Tilghman, who was related to Mr. Francis and resided at his house, seeing me enter, immediately rose from the table at which he, with about thirty others, was sitting, and conducted me to Mr. Francis at the head of it, to whom I delivered my letters, which to my great surprise he directly opened and read. He had, however, previously pointed to a chair near him on which I sat down. Having perused the first letter he opened, he looked me full in the face and burst into a hoarse laugh, for which in a few seconds he apologized by observing that it struck him as superlatively ridiculous for Mr. Edmund Burke to imagine he could be of the smallest use to an Attorney (placing a strong emphasis on the last word). I felt extremely mortified at his impertinent manner especially before so large a company, and I believe my countenance showed that I was offended, for he suddenly altered his behaviour and made a great many civil speeches. He requested I would do him the honour to dine with him, lamented the very severe indisposition I had undergone, adding if I would follow his advice he would answer for it I never should be troubled with bile, his preventative being a glass of cold water as soon as I awoke in the morning, and another on retiring to rest at night. This, he said, a physician of eminence in London had recommended, and he had found it answer most completely."

The dispute between Warren Hastings and his Council is fully detailed in these memoirs, a dispute which belongs to history. Hickey explains how a "violent animosity prevailed between Mr. Hastings as Governor, and General Clavering, first member of council, and Commander-in-Chief." Hastings, it was reported, had sent his resignation to the Court of Directors through his agent, Colonel Maclean. From the date of this resignation Clavering claimed to be governor and was strenuously supported by Colonel Monson and Philip Francis. The death of the former gave Hastings a majority in Council by his own casting vote; but the contest between the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief had been of the most serious character, "putting the settlement into the state of the greatest anarchy," until the decision was referred to His Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court who declared in favour of Hastings retaining the governorship. The quarrel, however, smouldered for years, and caused several duels, the most important of which was that between Hastings and Francis. It is amusing to read of the irresponsible Bob Pott taking part in politics, but he was "a staunch Hastingsite" and fought a duel with one James Grant who was a supporter of Clavering. The latter died in 1777. He had seen much service in Guadelope, but perhaps no fighting so fierce as that which raged in the political atmosphere of the Calcutta of his day. In 1775 he fought a duel with Barwell, and he supported the famous Nuncomar in his

charges against Hastings; but on this famous controversy Hickey throws very little light. So little does he say of what, for a lawyer, must have been a most sensational case, that it should be reproduced in full. "Rajah Nundcomar had been a warm supporter of General Clavering, from which many people thought he lost his life. There is no doubt but that in summing up the evidence and charging the Jury the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, was as hostile to the prisoner as could be. The Jury, after being shut up many hours, and great difference of opinion prevailing amongst them, at last brought in a verdict of guilty, but which several of them have since assured me they would sooner have starved than consented to, had they entertained the most distant idea of execution following such a verdict, and most indignant were they upon finding the sentence carried into effect. Upon the day of the Rajah's execution every Hindu, high and low, at an early hour in the morning left Calcutta in the utmost despair. Sir Robert Chambers, then the senior puisne Judge, differed from his brethren, declaring it to be his opinion not only that the Rajah ought not to suffer, but that the verdict was wrong, yet from his natural frivolity and want of firmness he allowed the influence the Chief Justice had over him to operate so far as to subscribe his name to the death warrant as with those of the other Judges."

But what was the trial of Nuncomar in comparison with the Francis-Grand divorce case? How could our gossiping Hickey fail to dote upon the details of this sensational scandal in the highest circles of political life in Calcutta? The whole world knows the story of Catherine Noel Worlee, the daughter of a Dane who, under the Government of France, was *Captaine de Port de Chandernagore*. She was born in 1762, and at the age of fifteen married George Francis Grand of the East India Company's service. In February 1779 Grand brought an action against Philip Francis for criminal conversation with his wife on the 8th of December 1778, and after a trial before Impey, Chambers and Hyde, judgment was given in his favour and 50,000 sicca rupees as damages. He asked Hickey to act for him in this case, but Hickey who had been introduced to Francis through the offices of Burke, thought it necessary to decline the offer. He also refused to act for Francis; and remained an amused and cynical spectator of the most sensational case of his day. Sir Robert Chambers differed in his judgment from Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. John Hyde. The Chief Justice "being surprised and vexed at the depth of learning displayed by Sir Robert on the occasion, entirely concurred in opinion with Mr. Justice Hyde and decreed that judgment should be fifty thousand rupees. Mr. Hyde, in a low voice, said 'siccass!' 'Aye, siccass, brother Hyde,' added the Chief. This produced a roar of mirth from the auditors at which Sir Elijah was greatly offended." Hickey gives us no more information about Mrs. Grand than may be found in Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta*. He merely states that she went to Paris where Talleyrand, the foreign minister of Napoleon, married her; but of her life under the protection of Francis at Hooghly, where she remained for a year after the divorce proceedings, he seems to have known nothing. The reason is obvious. Grand's case came

before Sir Elijah Impey in February 1779; and, on the 10th of April of the same year, Hickey returned to England. All that he knew, therefore, of the relations between Philip Francis and Mrs. Grand was the gossip of the sensational trial, and that of course was common property in Calcutta. He could not guess that the unhappy girl wife of the ineffectual and feeble spirited civil servant was to develop into the famous Princesse de Talleyrand, the most celebrated beauty of Napoleon's court, and the hostess of all Europe's princes and ambassadors.

Hickey's record of his first sojourn in Calcutta from 1777 to 1779, while interesting enough in its description of events already well known, does not furnish fresh material for the historian save in its account of James Augustus Hicky, the eccentric journalist, and of the mob attack upon the Supreme Court. Hickey acted for his namesake, the founder of Calcutta's first newspaper, and gives a clear analysis of his character and eccentricities. He was also present in Court in August 1778, when the mob broke in and might, save for prompt action, have murdered every official in the place. Such an event was rare in these days, Hickey remarking that "so uncommon and extraordinary a breach of the peace occurring in the British capital of India, and upon the Court itself, occasioned universal astonishment all over the province." The cause of this trouble throws a good deal of light upon the relations of English and Indians at the close of the eighteenth century, and tends to dispel the notion that unlicensed petty tyranny was the order of the day. The chief superintendent of Colonel Watson's dock-yard operations had flogged and imprisoned two carpenters who had been caught in the act of stealing tools. These men brought cases against the superintendent, Cressy by name, and the proceedings attracted great numbers of Europeans to the court-house. The season was Mohurrum, and during the trial a mob proceeded to attack the building. The Europeans were forced to take refuge on the roof; until Cressy (the author of the whole trouble) seized a peon's pike and led a charge downstairs which drove the rioters to Writers' Buildings where they smashed the windows and beat every European they met. Cressy lost his case and was fined four hundred sicca rupees and costs; but, as Hickey writes, "the agitation of this question created a great interest not only in Bengal but all over the Company's provinces, Cressy receiving the most flattering and complimentary addresses from every direction. He was pronounced the Wilkes of India! A subscription was instantly set on foot by which a large sum of money was raised and presented to him." Out of this ridiculous turmoil came the petition of January 1779 "praying a repeal of the Act under which the Court was constituted, and that British subjects might in India, as they were in all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions, be allowed a trial by jury."

To present this petition to Parliament Hickey left Calcutta in April 1779; and he did not return until 1782. This last portion of the third volume of the memoirs is wholly concerned with the lighter side of English life in Bengal, and delightful reading it provides. We have already read of Hickey's

connection with Charlotte Barry whom he brought to Calcutta in 1782, and with whom as "Mrs. Hickey" he set up house, "furnishing very handsomely at an expense of upwards of 12,000 rupees including plate." Hickey now came upon the town as a married man, and he has described in detail the ceremonial attending such a venture. Speaking of his "beloved Charlotte" he writes thus: "Upon thus setting up in town it became necessary for her to go through a disagreeable and foolish ceremony, in those times always practised by new-comers of the fair sex, and which was called 'setting up,' that is the mistress of the house being stuck up, full dressed, in a chair at the head of the best room (the apartment brilliantly lighted), having a female friend placed on each side, thus to receive the ladies of the settlement, three gentlemen being selected for the purpose of introducing the respective visitors, male and female, for every lady that called was attended by at least two gentlemen. One of the three gentlemen received the hand of the fair visitor at the door, led her up to the stranger, announcing her name, whereupon curtsies were exchanged, the visitor accepted a proffered seat amidst the numerous circle, where after remaining five, or at least ten, minutes she arose, the salutations were again exchanged and the party retired to make way for the quick successor, this moving scene continuing from seven o'clock in the evening until past eleven. The same occurred the two following evenings, to the dreadful annoyance of the poor woman condemned to go through so tiresome and unpleasant a process. A further inconvenience attended this practice, which was the necessity of returning every one of the visits thus made. As the society of Calcutta increased in number 'setting up' became less frequent, and about the year 1785 ceased altogether, persons from thence forward selecting their acquaintances according to liking as in Europe. To give an idea of the fatigue attending the above monstrous ceremony I will mention that the names of those ladies I recollect to have come to Mrs. Hickey number nearly one hundred, upon each of whom she was in return obliged to call." Ceremonial and climate alike combined to undermine Charlotte's health, and she died in 1783. Her influence upon Hickey was all for his good, and the memoirs, from the period of her decease, are less pleasant, if more sensational, in their details. It was a period of exuberant living both in England and in India; and where amusement was concerned these merry men seemed to know nothing of moderation. One wonders what, if any, work was ever done by those revellers who seemed to go to bed when the dawn had long past its early stages, and to whom claret in mighty drafts was their equivalent for our carefully filtered iced water or soda.

The Calcutta theatre seemed to flourish while Hastings was still governor, having been taken over by Mr. Francis Rundell, an assistant surgeon in the Company's service. "A fine dissipated fellow" writes Hickey, who was "admirably calculated for the stage." He made a tremendous success of his new venture, charging one gold mohur for each person admitted to a box and eight sicca rupees for the pit. Under the new management the house was crowded throughout November, December, January and February, and the

conviviality of the amateur actors (who were all male) was cleverly encouraged by the astute Rundell "who not only paid without a murmur for whatever dresses they chose to make up for the different characters they represented, but on the nights of performance, after all was over, gave a splendid supper upon the stage, where claret, champagne and burgundy were most liberally dealt out, many of the guests continuing at table until day-light. I have known him more than once pay eighty sicca rupees a dozen for the champagne. As from long habit and a strong head he could bear a great deal of wine he always contrived to make his young heroes gloriously drunk, and by so doing became the most popular man in Bengal." But exceptions to this style of living there were, if only a few. Warren Hastings, who reaped the benefit of temperance in his long and vigorous retirement at home, drank nothing stronger than claret and water even on the most convivial occasions. Here is Hickey's account of the Westminster dinner. "Mr. Hastings, who was by nature uncommonly shy and reserved, always unbent upon these occasions and became playful as a boy, entering with great spirit into all the laughter and nonsense of the hour, himself reciting a number of ridiculous circumstances that occurred in his time. His health being precarious, he was necessarily abstemious both in eating and drinking, and therefore when he was obliged to preside and give toasts, had a mixture of weak wine and water prepared for himself, with which beverage he went through all the ceremonies, announcing the standing toasts with great regularity and precision. After filling the chair until past midnight, by which time a majority of the company were incapable of swallowing any more wine, he vacated his seat and retired unnoticed, leaving a few of us to continue our orgies until a brilliant sun shone into the room, whereupon we rose, staggered to our palankeens, and were conveyed to our respective homes." Curiously enough Philip Francis, the bitter enemy of Hastings and by no means his follower as regards temperance in food and drink, actually outlived his rival in retirement. He died on the 22nd of December 1818, four months after his great opponent. Those who desire to get a few interesting side lights on the career of both long after they had abandoned the East, should consult the delightful Creevey Papers with which the newly discovered memoirs of our friend Hickey will surely rank in the future.

No review restricted to space is adequate to put forward all the good things related by Hickey. As befits the retired writer of his life's story, the historical perspective is that of his own choosing, and to the seemingly trivial and unimportant details he gives as great, if not greater, attention than to the far-resounding events that history has chosen for her own. But we read him for his trivialities and for these alone we are prepared to love him. When Lord Cornwallis succeeded Warren Hastings as Governor-General, Hickey found the new society at Government House very much to his taste. He writes: "From my intimacy with the members of his lordship's family I generally received an invitation once a week. Dinner was served with a scrupulous exactness, the hour being four during the hot months, and three

in the cooler. He sat at table two hours, during which the bottles were in constant circulation. If any one of the company, from being in conversation with his neighbour or other cause, inadvertently stopped their progress, or what was quite as serious an offence, passed them without putting in the corks, his lordship instantly attacked the defaulter in the first instance, calling out sharply, "Fie, fie! sir, how can you omit to put the cork into the bottle before, you pass it?" A curious custom this which calls for explanation. Was the flavour of the wine so delicate that the atmosphere of Bengal would destroy it at once, or were the hands of the diners so uncertain that they could not be entrusted with the simple act of passing the bottle? Here is just such a detail as the antiquarian delights to hunt to a conclusion, and readers of *Bengal Past and Present* may spend their leisure in finding an explanation for the curious etiquette of the cork at the table of Lord Cornwallis. His Lordship had been a hard campaigner. He was at Minden and, as all the world knows, had to surrender at York town. Can this custom of the cork be in any way connected with the rough and ready methods of the 18th century soldier when on active service?

It is some time since hounds were in demand in the alluvial country that surrounds Calcutta. But what of this story of Captain Chisholme, the Scottish commander of the East Indiaman, *Gatton*, who had on board "a large pack of remarkably fine hounds, then in great demand by the Bengal sportsmen, for which he was offered twenty times their supposed value, but he likewise had one hundred and fifty pipes of Madeira wine, an article with which the market was so greatly overstocked there was no sale at all for. Captain Chisholme therefore, like a wily Scotchman, finding his dogs so much sought after, determined to make them the means of getting rid of his Madeira. He accordingly made his purser give notice that any person taking four pipes of Madeira at three hundred rupees per pipe should have two couple of hounds at the market price those animals then bore. The scheme fully answered, for he disposed of both wine and dogs at a profit of upwards of one hundred per cent., instead of being an immense loser as otherwise must have been the case, there being no sale of Madeira but at a loss of sixty per cent. upon the prime cost."

The twenty fifth volume of *Bengal Past and Present* has already given some account of the notorious Bob Pott, the youth whom Hickey first met at Canton on his first-trip to India and the far east. He became in 1783 resident at the Durbar of the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad in succession to Sir John D'Oyly, and carried on the traditions of the post in a style of princely magnificence. He never forgot his friend Hickey, a friendship which can be described only in the words of the convivial poet Burns—

He lov'd him like a very brither;

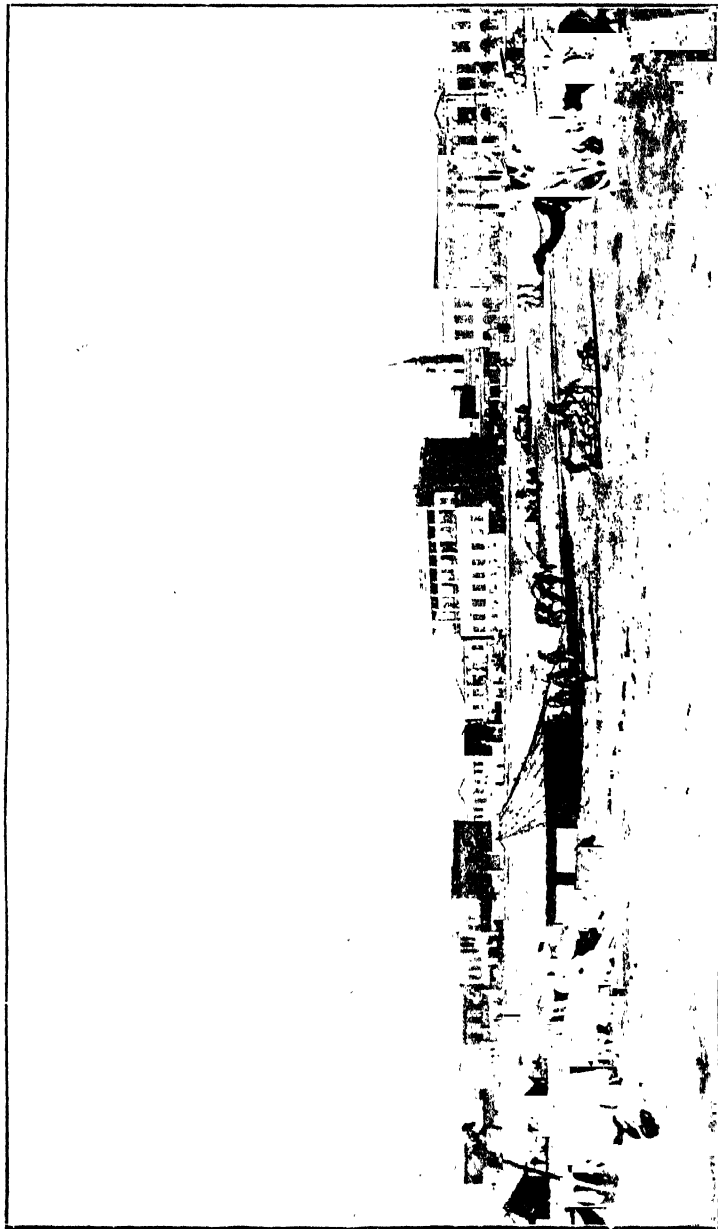
They had been foo for nichts thegither.

Nothing can be more delightful than Hickey's account of Pott's method of life in Murshidabad, the superb manner of his household and his method of carrying off a situation to which he can scarcely have been entitled. Here

is the account of a visit to Murshidabad (Afzalbag) before that great centre of Moslem tyranny had shrunk to the little measure that we now know. "Pott's house, or, rather, palace, for such it might fairly be called, was most splendidly furnished, everything being in a style of princely magnificence. He received my friend and me with the cordiality and warmth of an old and attached acquaintance. I had a suite of apartments allotted to me of the completest kind, with warm and cold baths belonging exclusively to them, and every other luxury of the East. The morning after our arrival, Pott proposed taking me in his phaeton to Berhampore, when to my utter astonishment upon descending the grand staircase, which was lined on both sides with servants, all of whom respectfully salaamed him as he passed, and going into the courtyard, I saw a party of light horse drawn up, dressed in rich uniforms and mounted upon beautiful Arabian horses. The men upon our entering the carriage saluted with their sabres. Upon my enquiring in a low voice of Pott the meaning of this, he laughingly replied they were part of his bodyguard, consisting of sixty, and that he never moved from home without their attendance. When Pott took hold of the reins two of the troopers immediately preceded us, ten others following. Thus escorted away we dashed to Berhampore, where we visited Colonel Forbes, the Commanding Officer of the station, Colonel Bisco, the second, and other officers of rank." The whole scene is splendidly described, and what a vision of adventurous and unscrupulous activity it reveals!

And this is the last impression of these fascinating memoirs. Whatever they may be, no mean hypocrisy sneaks through their pages. They tell the story of English life in the Bengal of the late eighteenth century, and they see no reason to dress that story in the platitudes of an official despatch. Herein lies their charm; and for years to come the student of history in Calcutta will find inspiration and delight in their gossip, scandal and romance.

. T. O. D. DUNN.



THE COUNCIL HOUSE AND ESPLANADE WEST, 1788
(From Thomas Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta.")

Hickey's Houses in Calcutta.

(1) " Shortly after my return (on December 24, 1777, after a severe illness) to Colonel Watson's (" at the docks " in the upper part of Garden Reach) he told me that my shipmate, Cleveland (an assistant Surgeon with whom Hickey had come out in the *Plassey*) had more than once expressed a wish that we would join and live together in a very good house he had taken, which, from its vicinity to the Court House, would suit me admirably. To this proposal I readily agreed. I found the house delightfully situated upon the Esplanade, open to the southward and eastward: and commanding an extensive view both up and down the river: to which it was close. The only reasonable objection that could be made was its being *cutcha*, that is built with mud instead of mortar. Formerly the greater part of the buildings in Bengal were of that description, whereas there is now hardly one to be seen throughout Calcutta, being replaced by well constructed masonry. For this house we agreed to pay three hundred sicca rupees, or thirty seven pounds ten shillings a month. Pott undertook to put it into a proper condition for us, which he did but at an expense of nearly one thousand pounds. On the 6th of January (1778) we became joint householders." (Vol. II, pp. 133-134).

(2) " Mr. Cleveland and I continued joint housekeepers until the middle of April (1778) when I determined upon dissolving our partnership and took a house for myself which was then finishing." (Vol. II. p. 156).

(3) " On the 10th of May, 1778, I went into my house which belonged to Thomas Motte, Esqr., then a respectable and considered a very opulent, man." (Vol. II. p. 172). The locality is not indicated.

(4) " In the middle of August (1782) I succeeded in getting a capital house in a central part of the town, and not far distant from the Court House, which was particularly desirable to me who was obliged to attend there daily in the execution of my business as an attorney. It was the property of an old woman, a Mrs. Brightman who let it to me at three hundred sicca rupees a month, I binding myself to pay at that rate of rent for one year certain." (Vol. III. p. 154.)

(5) " In the month of July (1784) a house upon the Esplanade, the best and most airy situation in Calcutta, becoming vacant, I had the good fortune to procure it and immediately took possession. The building itself was very old and in a decayed state, but the beauty of the view from it, and its vicinity to the Court house made it a most desirable residence for me." (Vol. III. p. 236.)

(6) " The house I inhabited upon the Esplanade now became so bad (1789) as to render it dangerous, being liable to fall every north-wester. I therefore gave my landlord notice I should quit it at the end of the month. He thereupon called to say he found me so excellent a tenant, he wished

to retain me, and if I would go into another mansion of his, he would pull down the house I left and rebuild it according to any plan I chose. I accepted the offer by inhabiting a very capital house belonging to him in Council House Street. The very day I left the old one he sent in workmen to commence pulling it down." (Vol. III. p. 342-343.)

(7) "In March 1790 my new mansion being finished and very handsome I removed into it. I furnished it in such a style as gained universal approbation and acquired me the reputation of possessing great taste. The principal apartments were ornamented with some immense looking-glasses, also with a number of beautiful pictures and prints, forming altogether a choice and valuable collection. The expence was enormous, but as I looked only to pleasant times, having no idea that I should ever be able to lay up a fortune, I was indifferent about the price of things, purchasing every article I felt any inclination for. When completed my house was pronounced to be the most elegantly fitted up of any in Calcutta and in fact there was no one like it. Some of my facetious acquaintances christened it 'Hickey's picture and print warehouse.'" (Vol. III. pp. 357-358.)

NOTE—It is to be regretted that no particulars are supplied of Hickey's "pictures and prints." But we know (Vol. III, p. 326) that he won at a raffle in 1787 four landscapes by Joseph Farington which had been brought out to Calcutta by the second mate of the *Deptford* Indiaman. Hickey also tells us (Vol. III, pp. 327, 342) that he not only subscribed himself but "procured many other names" to Thomas Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta," (published in 1786—88) and that he sent a set home to his brother in the beginning of 1789.

(8) Advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazette" of Thursday. December 24, 1807.

Valuable
PROPERTY

To be sold by Public Auction,
BY TULLOH AND COMPANY,
On Monday the 25th January 1808,

At his house adjoining
The Supreme Court,
The

TRULY ELEGANT
PROPERTY

Of

WILLIAM HICKEY, ESQ.

Returning to Europe;
Consisting chiefly of

An extensive Side-board of fashionable Plate—Diamond and other valuable Jewellery—Valuable and scarce Paintings, and Engravings, in rich gold bur-nished frames—Superb Pier Looking Glasses—Swing, Toilette, and Dressing ditto—Concave and convex Mirrors—A great variety of useful and Ornamental

Glass ware—Queen's-ware and China-ware—A good collection of valuable and scarce Books—Stationary, an assortment—A valuable Camera Obscura—A neat and complete Copying Machine—Fire and Side Arms—A Terrestrial Globe—A capital full sized mahogany Billiard Table, in very good order, with Maces, Queus, &c. &c.—A fine toned Chamber Organ, and a valuable Eight-day Table

Clock—Cooking Utensils, &c. &c. &c.

Likewise,

A great variety of the best

FURNITURE,

Amongst which are,

Very elegant solid mahogany Dining, Breakfast, Pembroke, Card, and other Tables—A valuable and highly finished treble mahogany Library—A pair of elegant mahogany Book Cases, with glazed doors, and silk curtains—Mahogany Wardrobes, Bureaus, Secretaries, and Chest of Drawers—Mahogany and other Bedsteads, of sizes with Bedding &c. &c.—Settee and other Couches—Side Boards—Chairs and Teapoys, a variety—Mahogany and other Wash hand

Stands.

And

Various other

ARTICLES

OF

Useful Furniture;

Also

A stock of the best

of

LIQUORS,

And

Several articles

of

OFFICE FIXTURES;

Consisting of

Writing Tables, with Drawers—Pigeon Holes and Book-Cases—Paper Presses

&c.

Also

HIS BUGGY AND HORSES;

viz,

A remarkably neat full pannell Buggy, built to order, by Stewart and Morrison, and furnished in the first style, on C, spiral, and grass hopper springs with Hood, Wings and Lamps, and lined throughout with blue Morocco; together with a very handsome steady good going Bay Acheen Poney, and a fashionable plated mounted Harness,

A very handsome, shewy, fine tempered bay Saddle Horse, with Saddle and Bridle,

A ditto bay Buggy Poney,

A ditto bay Saddle Poney,
and

A grey Carriage Horse, formerly one of a pair, and full 14 hands high,
likewise,

HIS PALANKEENS,

viz,

A very elegant Chair Palankeen, with Lamps and glazed throughout, built to order, by Stewart and Co. and finished in the first style.

A fashionable Mehanna, built by ditto, and as good as new, with Lamps &c. extremely neat and complete,

A very good ditto, with ditto,

And

Various Other
ARTICLES,

Particulars of which will be fully detailed in Catalogues on the Day of Sale, when all orders will meet with every attention.

All the Horses are of a most generous temper, and believed sound.

NOTE.—A *Mehanna* or *Myannah* was a middle sized palanquin. In Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette* (Vol. 1, p. 49) an advertisement is given of the offer for sale in 1784 of "an entirely new myannah, painted and gilt, lined with orange silk, and with curtains and bedding complete." It seems to have been a Calcutta speciality : cf: *Bombay Courier* for May 16, 1795: "For sale, an Elegant Fashionable New Meanna from Calcutta."

(9) This advertisement is repeated in the "Calcutta Gazette" of January 21, 1808. In the issue of January 28, Messrs Tulloh and Co. "respectfully acquaint the public" that the sale is postponed until Monday February 8 "when it will take place at Mr. Hickey's house, adjoining the Court House." The notice of postponement re-appears on February 4.

NOTE.—The name of "Mr. William Hickey, attorney at law" is given in a "correct list of Passengers proceeding to Europe by the Hon'ble Company's ship *Castle Eden*, Captain Richard Colnett," which is printed in the "Calcutta Gazette" of February 18, 1808. Hickey's fellow-passengers (11 male adults, 2 ladies, 8 girls and 7 boys) included Moonshee Mirza Khuleel, who was "proceeding to England for the purpose of instructing the students at Hertford College," the fore-runner of Haileybury, "in the Hindoostanee Language." The *Castle Eden* (818 tons) left the Sandheads in the company of six other Indiamen, and reached her home moorings on August 18, 1808.

Memories of Dum-Dum.

EXTRACTS from two regimental journals have been sent to us, which are of considerable interest as showing that while the regiments in question were stationed in former years at Dum Dum, the past history of that famous cantonment did not remain a sealed book to them.

The first is an extract from "I'm Ninety Five," the magazine of the second Battalion of the Sherwood Foresters (the Notts and Derby Regiment, formerly the 95th Foot): and we quote it in full. The date is October 1, 1886.

Dum-Dum (Dam-Dama) is so called after the elevated mound or Dam-dama, situated to the south of the Cantonment on which stands the building known as Dum-Dum House, at present the residence of the Cantonment Magistrate.

Dum-Dum first came into notice as the place to which the Nawab of Bengal, Suraj-ood-dowlah, retreated, after his camp at Sealdah had been beaten up in the fog on the morning of 5th February 1757 by Clive, and it was here that on the day following the Nawab ratified all the privileges formerly enjoyed by the English, made restitution of Calcutta, Kasimbazar and Dacca, permitted Calcutta to be fortified, and granted freedom of trade and liberty to establish a mint.

Some time after this Lord Clive converted the old building then existing upon the mound of Dam-Dama into a country residence making alterations in the building, which although a place of some strength was probably ill adapted for a residence, and adding the upper storey. About 1775 the plains to the North and East of the present Cantonment were first made use of as a practice ground for the artillery. In 1783 a Cantonment was marked out by Colonel Duff, and Dum-Dum became the headquarters of the Bengal Artillery and so remained until 1853 a period of seventy years, when they were removed to Meerut as being more central.

The fine mess-house of the Bengal Artillery was purchased by Government in 1860 and converted into an institute and reading room for officers and soldiers under the name of the Outram Institute, as a memorial of General Sir James Outram.

Dum-Dum possesses a fine barrack square surrounded by airy two storied barracks. The centre of the square is occupied by a very handsome old bronze gun which was probably left in or near Dum-Dum by the Nawab Suraj-ood-dowlah when he retreated from the vicinity of

Calcutta, and which bears unmistakeable marks of having been in a very hot corner in some old and hardfought action.

Within the church compound is a corinthian pillar in memory of Colonel Pearse the first Commandant of the Artillery Regiment who died in 1789 (1), and to the South of the Factory stands a fine monumental column erected to the memory of the officers and men who fell in the retreat from Cabul in 1841, especially to that of Captain Nicholl and the officers and men of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery who were cut down to a man in defence of their guns.

There are many good houses in the Cantonment, and immediately adjoining it is Fairy Hall which has been recently taken as the officers mess by the 2nd Derby Regiment.

The possible origin of Dum-Dum House was that it was a Shikargarh or hunting lodge of the Nawabs of Bengal, although from the style of architecture it would appear to have had an European, probably Dutch or Portuguese, origin.

Bishop Heber writing of Dum-Dum House says that the upper storey was added by Lord Clive who also laid out the gardens and made it his country house. From the roof of the building the Ochterlony monument can be seen, the central tower of the High Court and the Cathedral spire. It is often made use of as a signalling station between Dum-Dum and Fort William.

To the South East of the station lie the Salt Lakes where good wildfowl shooting used to be available but there are now very few birds to be found there. The immense stretch of low land between the station and the Lakes still offers attractions in the rains for canoeists and centre board sailers.

Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, of whom mention is made, was known as the "Father of the Bengal Artillery," having succeeded to the command of the corps in 1769. He acted as second to Hastings in his famous duel with Francis. Of this encounter, which took place at Alipore in the early morning hours of August 7, 1780, Pearse has told the story in a letter written to Lawrence Sullivan, who was chairman of the Court of Directors in the following year. He was only forty-seven at the time of his death in June, 1789: but he was already in 1769 a veteran with a record behind him of honourable service at Guadeloupe, Havannah and Belleisle, and gathered fresh laurels in Eyre Coote's Carnatic campaign against Hyder Ali. When he returned to Bengal in 1785 he received a sword of honour. He died a few miles up the river Hooghly, where he had gone for change of air, and the epitaph on his grave in the North Park Street cemetery records that "for the last three years of his life he was senior officer of the Bengal Army." Lord Cornwallis was present at the funeral, or, as the local chronicler of the day

(1) "The wind was so violent in the storm on Friday afternoon that the Pillar erecting at Dum-Dum by the Artillery Officers, to the memory of Colonel Pearse, was entirely blown down."—*Calcutta Gazette*, April 8, 1790.

puts it, "His Lordship attended and drop't a tear, with the crowd." In her admirable collection of the letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, "Sydney C. Grier" states that Pearse was married to an Indian lady: and adds, on the authority of Colonel Hugh Pearse (the biographer of the Harseys) that a son of his, named Mohammed, was sent to Harrow, but disappears from view after leaving the school. (2).

Our next extract is dated April 30, 1889, and is taken from "The Dragon," the regimental magazine of the Buffs. It runs as follows:—

Colonel Duff of the Bengal Artillery who laid out the Cantonment, was known as Tiger Duff. This sobriquet originated in a story that Duff coming out of the Mess Bungalow late one night was met on the verandah by a tiger on the prowl; the beast sprung upon him, but Duff seizing it by the jaws, by main force tore them asunder.

The laying out of the Cantonment was quite a family arrangement. Each officer in the Regiment selected his own plot, and Colonel Duff marked it out for him. Thus we find all the old names associated with the early possession of the bungalows; Duff, Pearse, Horsford, Hardwicke, Hind, Pollock, Swiney, Smith, Stone, Ochterlony, Popham, D'Oyly etc.

A D'OYLY LEGEND.

On January 31, 1890, the "Dragon" returned to the subject of Dum-Dum and related the following strange story:—

There are many queer histories attaching to some of the bungalows in Dum-Dum. Few people who walk down the Jessore Road and pass No. 29, the bungalow with the tall casuarina trees in front, know of the tragic fate which overtook the family which owned and lived in it formerly.

The former owner was Captain Thomas D'Oyly, of the Bengal Artillery, a younger son of Sir John D'Oyly, Bart. and brother of the then Baronet, Sir Charles D'Oyly, senior member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. In 1833 Captain D'Oyly with his wife and son, a boy of two years of age named Charles, sailed from Calcutta in the barque "Charles Eaton." This vessel was wrecked in the Torres Straits and

(2) An interesting series of letters by Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse has been published in *Bengal Past and Present*: (Vol. II. pp. 305—324; Vol. III. pp. 65—99, 284—307; Vol. IV. pp. 519—533; Vol. V. pp. 244—261; Vol. VI. pp. 101—131; Vol. VII. pp. 33—47). As to Col. Pearse's Indian wife and son Mohammed, compare the parallel case of Commodore James (capturer in 1755 of the sea-fortress of Severndroog) as recorded under the year 1783 in the "East Indian Chronologist" (Calcutta 1801).

December the 16th died Sir William James Bart. He was Chairman of the East India Company at the time of his decease. In his youth he performed several gallant achievements in the East Indies in the glorious days of Watson and Clive. He was succeeded in his Honours by his only son whom he had by his second wife, an Indian Lady. *Richard James was the first Native of Hindostan who succeeded to the Hereditary honours of England.*

all the passengers and crew were supposed to have been lost. In the following year however, it was rumoured that five of the crew had escaped and that two more were believed to be in the hands of natives. Enquiries were made by Commander W. Igglesdon of the H. E. I. Coy's ship "Tigris" and it was discovered that over forty of the crew and passengers had been murdered and eaten by the Cannibal Islanders of Boydaney one of the Six Sisters group. The only survivors of those who fell into their hands were an apprentice lad John Ireland aged 10 and Charles D'Oyly aged 3; these children had been preserved by the women, and had been carried off by the natives of Murray Island from whom they were purchased by Captain Lewis of the Colonial schooner "Isabella." Little D'Oyly is said to have parted with great reluctance from his sable naked foster mothers and nurses.

The only relic of the unfortunate passengers and crew that was discovered on Boydaney was the gigantic figure of a man's head ornamented with forty two human skulls some of which had been terribly fractured and exposed to the action of fire.

Little Charles D'Oyly so wonderfully preserved succeeded his uncle in the Baronety and became a Major General in the Indian Army.

It seems a pity to discredit so romantic a tale : but it is necessary, in the interests of accuracy, to state that Major General Sir Charles D'Oyly, who succeeded as ninth baronet in 1869 and died as recently as 1900, was the eldest son of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the eighth baronet, by his first wife Charlotte Thompson, the daughter of Hastings' private secretary, George Nesbitt Thompson, and half sister of Henry Vansittart. This John D'Oyly, who was the ward of Hastings and was brought up by him at Daylesford, served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1812 to 1843. He was the younger brother of Sir Charles D'Oyly, the seventh baronet who also served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1797 to 1838, and whom Heber styled "the best amateur artist I ever saw : " and both were sons of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly the sixth baronet, who figures so prominently in the extracts from the Farington Diary which were recently published in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV pp. 21-26). There is no trace in Burke's Peerage of any Thomas D'Oyly, son of the sixth baronet and brother of the seventh : and it would be interesting to learn how the legend narrated in the "Dragon" originated.

Appendix.

THE D'OYLY BARONETS.

“ Do No Ylle Quoth Doyllé.”

The Indian record of the D'Oyly family is so remarkable that no apology is offered for adding the following particulars.

1. The first baronet was Sir William D'Oyly, of Shottisham, so created by Charles I in 1663. He was M. P. for Norfolk from 1654 to 1659, and for Yarmouth from 1660 to 1667, and died in 1679.
2. The second baronet was his eldest son, Sir William, who was a Teller of the Exchequer, and died in 1680.
3. The third baronet was Edmund, eldest son of the second, who died in 1700.
4. The fourth baronet was also Sir Edmund, eldest son of the third, who sold the Shottisham estate, and died unmarried in 1763.
5. The fifth baronet, Sir Hadley, who was in Holy orders, was the eldest son of Hadley, the second son of the second baronet, and died in 1764.
6. The sixth baronet, Sir John Hadley, of D'Oyly Park, Hampshire, was his eldest son. He was the first of the family to come to India and is the intimate friend of Warren Hastings with whom we are so well acquainted. During the historic trial he was member of Parliament for Ipswich. He married, as we know, at Calcutta in 1772 Diana, widow of William Cotes, and daughter of William Rochfort, who was the brother of Robert Rochfort, first Earl of Belvedere: and died at Calcutta in 1818.
7. The seventh baronet, Sir Charles D'Oyly, was the eldest son of the sixth. In him we have the celebrated artist and author of the justly celebrated books “ The Englishman in India ” and “ Tom Raw, Griffin.” He was appointed to be a writer on the Bengal Establishment on March 1, 1797, and arrived in India on March 22, 1798. At the time of his retirement from the Service in January, 1838, he had been for five years Senior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium. He married firstly, his cousin Marian Greer who died in 1814, and secondly Elizabeth Jane, daughter of Major Thomas Ross, R. A. who died in 1875. His death took place at Florence in 1845.

8. The eighth baronet, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the second, was his younger brother. He was never weary of reciting the praises of his beloved guardian, Warren Hastings, with whom he spent his childhood at Daylesford : and used to describe him as a man of whom it might well be said that he was *integer vitae scelerisque purus*. He was appointed to be a writer on the Bengal Establishment on February 14, 1812 and arrived in India on August 19 following. He too was twice married : firstly to Charlotte daughter of George Nesbitt Thompson, and secondly to Mary, eldest daughter of John Fendall, member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta. He retired on annuity on July 1, 1843, and died in 1869. His second wife survived him until 1885.
9. The ninth baronet, Sir Charles, was the eldest son of the eighth by his first wife : and was a Major General in the Bengal Army. He died without issue in 1900.
10. The tenth baronet, Sir Warren Hastings D'Oyly, was half brother of the ninth, being the only son of the eighth baronet by his second wife. He served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1858 to 1891 being one of the last batch of Haileybury men, and died in 1921. In 1920 he published a book of memories : " Tales Retailed of Celebrities : " which contains many interesting details of the family. His first wife who died in 1904, was a daughter of Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.
11. The eleventh and present baronet, Sir Hastings Hadley D'Oyly, is the eldest son of the tenth : and was at one time a member of the Andamans Commission. He represents the fifth generation in the service of the Company and Crown in India.

Overland to India in 1838.

THE following "Diary of a Journey from London to Bombay, via France and Egypt, in 1838" is taken from "The East India Voyager" by Miss Emma Roberts—a book published in London in 1845:

Wednesday, April 4, 1838—Departed per Steamer from London Bridge at 7 a.m. and arrived the same day at Boulogne, at 6 p.m. Lodged at Hotel de Londres.

Saturday, April 6—Left Boulogne at 9 A.M. per Diligence and arrived at Amiens at ½ past 9 P.M., hotel where the Diligence changed. I might have gone direct from Boulogne to Paris had it suited me.

Sunday, April 7—Left Amiens at 6 P.M. by Diligence, and arrived at Paris at 8 the next morning. At Paris lodged at the Hotel de Lisle et d' Albion—Rue St. Thomas du Louvre.

Wednesday, April 11—Left Paris per Diligence at 7 P.M. for Chalons sur Saone by Troyes and Dijon, (but I ought to have gone by Auxerre) and arrived there at 3 on Saturday morning. Staid a few hours at Dijon. At Chalons lodged at "Les Trois Faisans."

Sunday, April 15—Left Chalons per Steamer on the Saone at 5 this morning and landed at Lyons at ½ past 2 in the afternoon. Lodged at Hotel du Parc.

Tuesday, April 17—Left Lyons per Steamer on the Rhone, at 5 A.M. and landed at Avignon at 5 in the evening. Dined there at the Hotel de l' Europe, and at 8 the same evening left per Diligence for Marseilles: arrived there about 10 the next morning. Lodged Hotel Branrau.

From London to Marseilles, 14 days, including stoppages, viz: 2 days at Boulogne: 1 day at Amiens: nearly 3 days at Paris: 1 day Chalons: and 1½ day at Lyons. The weather between London and Marseilles was on the whole fine and mild.

Saturday, April 21—Embarked at Marseilles, at 5 P.M. in the Steamer *Minos*. Arrived at Leghorn early in the morning of the 23rd; at Civita Vecchia the next morning: at Naples the next morning: and anchored at Malta, at 9 A.M. of the 27th being the sixth day from Marseilles. We staid a few hours at Leghorn and Civita Vecchia, and landed there, but were not allowed to land at Naples. Fine weather and smooth sea generally on the way. Hotels at Malta, Morells and the Clarence.

Saturday, April 28—Left Malta per French Steamer, *Rhameses*, at 5 P.M. and anchored at Syra at 8 A.M. on Tuesday, the 1st May. Embarked the same day on board the French Steamer *Dante*, for Alexandria, and arrived there about 2 in the afternoon of Friday, the 4th May, being the thirteenth day from Marseilles. Hotel de l' Europe (the French Hotel) at Alexandria, and Hill's Hotel there, are both good.

Monday, May 7—Embarked on the Mahmoodee canal, about 5 in the evening, reached Atfee between 2 and 3 the next day. Embarked there on the Nile soon afterwards, and arrived at Cairo at noon, on Friday, the 11th May, having been four nights and 3½ days in coming from Alexandria, which is considered a good voyage at this season. Paid 70 piasters for a boat from Alexandria to Atfee, and 250 for one from Atfee to Cairo. These boats afford the room for two persons. One pound English money is equal to 97 or 98 piasters. Hill's Hotel at Cairo.

Saturday, May 12—Left Cairo at 5 P.M. and arrived at Suez on the Tuesday (the 15th) at 8 A.M. having been three nights and two days in performing the journey. Travelled at night. There were three of us, and each person had a donkey, and a dromedary for his own use, and one camel for baggage. Scarcely used the dromedary. We paid Mr. Waghorn 50 dollars each, for providing donkeys, dromedaries, a small tent, eatables, wine, servants, and everything required for the journey. In crossing the desert, the heat during the day time was great and at Suez it was still greater, both during the night and day.

Friday, May 18—Embarked at Suez on the *Atalanta* Steamer, the evening of the 18th May, and arrived at Mocha on the 25th. Fine weather from Suez, and smooth sea. Heat extreme.

Monday, June 4—Anchored at Bombay about 1 in the afternoon. Weather fine from Mocha, when there was more swell, but nothing remarkable.

Sixteen and a half days from Suez to Bombay. Sixty-one days from London to Bombay.

The French Steamers are all exactly similar, and afford comfortable accommodation for passengers. For First Class passengers there are eight cabins at the side of the saloon, each containing two beds, one above the other and one cabin containing 4 beds, besides a saloon with six beds for ladies.

As regards money—Sovereigns are the most convenient and advantageous in the shape of coin throughout the journey. Bankers' circular bills, of £25 each, are better.

Left London 4th April, arrived at Bombay, 4th June, 1838. Was 2 days at Boulogne: 1 day at Amiens; 3 days at Paris; 1 day at Chalons: 1½ day at Lyons: 4 days at Marseilles: 1½ day at Malta: 3 days at Alexandria; 1 day at Cairo, and near 4 days at Suez.

EXPENDITURE ON JOURNEY TO BOMBAY VIA EGPTT.

	£	s.	d.
Steamer, London to Boulogne	0	12	0
Sundry expenses on board, landing etc.	0	16	2
Hotel Bill, Passport etc. about	2	0	0
Diligence to Amiens etc.	1	0	0
Hotel Bill, etc.	0	13	0
Diligence to Paris, etc.	0	19	2
Hotel Bill	1	13	4
Diligence to Chalons, etc.	2	12	6
Hotel	0	15	10
Steamer to Lyons, etc.	0	7	6
Hotel	0	17	1
Steamer to Avignon	1	10	10
Diligence to Marseilles, etc.	0	17	2
Steamers from Marseilles to Alexandria	21	3	6
Passport etc.	0	18	11
Hotel at Marseilles	1	8	2
Table etc. between Marseilles and Alexandria	5	12	0
Hotel etc. at Alexandria	3	3	0
Mr. Waghorn's Bill for supplies etc. on the Nile	2	2	2
Servants account, ditto.	2	16	2
Boat hire on the Nile, etc.	3	7	2
Servant, etc.	2	13	0
Mr. Waghorn, 50 dollars for all requisites for the journey from Cairo to Suez	10	4	0
Sundries	0	12	1
Expenses at Suez, about	2	5	0
Passage money, Suez to Bombay, Rs. 800 or	80	0	0
Servant to Bombay, etc. say	3	0	0
TOTAL.	153	19	9

Selections from the Calcutta Press

1826-1833.

THE following extracts from the Calcutta newspapers, between the years 1826 and 1833, which do not find a place in any published work of "Selections," have been made under the supervision of Rai Promatha Nath Mullick Bahadur.

[BENGAL HARKARU, APRIL 17, 1826.]
A STREET IMPROVEMENT FOR CALCUTTA.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE "*Bengal Harkaru*."

SIR,

The late Assembly Rooms in Dacres' Lane (1), or, more recently the Mechanique Theatre, being now demolishing, I would beg to call the attention of the Lottery Committee, before the commencement of a new building on its scite, whether it would not be advisable to embrace the opportunity of buying up the ground for the purpose of continuing the road on the North of the Government House so that it may bisect the Cossitollah (2) near Meredith's Lane and be extended eventually to Wellington Square or Intally.

That such a broad throughfare to the Cossitollah is a desideratum needs only an inspection of Schalch's map (3) which will show that no roads wide enough for two carriages to pass without collision will be there discoverable from Esplanade Row (East front of Government House) to the head of the Loll Bazar or Scotch Kirk: a distance of nearly a mile. The intermediate communication will be found to consist of very narrow lanes, where much annoyance and delay are often experienced by stoppages of carriages while in progress in opposite directions, occasioning in various instances a retrogression of one of the vehicles to a wider passage, to allow the other to proceed.

(1) The reference is to Moore's Assembly Rooms, where the first Lord Minto was entertained by the "Settlement" at a farewell banquet in December 1813. Seven hundred cards of invitation were sent out: and "Mr. Chinnery's admirable portrait of His Lordship in a sitting posture was placed in the Hall and received the admiration of all." This picture has mysteriously disappeared from Calcutta. Dacres Lane which is named after Philip Milner Dacres, Collector of Calcutta in 1773, issues from Esplanade Row East and runs into Waterloo Street. It is one of the most ancient streets of Calcutta and also one of the shortest, its entire length being only about a furlong.

(2) Bentinck Street.

(3) Major J. A. Schalch's map, published in 1825 "for the use of the Lottery Committee."

The proposed road would tend also to beautify the city: inasmuch as it would open a perspective of Government House, as well as the shipping in the river from a great distance in the interior of the town, and also by opening a freer ventilation render Dacres' Lane more salubrious and healthful.

In addition to these advantages, were the road extended to Wellington Square, it would form an opening in the heart of Chandney Choke market (4) and divest it of the baneful effluvia which now hovers about it, from want of free admission of air.

Your obedient servant,
NORMAN.

[“ BENGAL HARKARU ” AUGUST 9, 1826.]

THE POLICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “ *Bengal Harkaru* ”

SIR,

It is essential to a well-regulated and energetic Police, that the materials of it should be select and suitable; or its duties cannot be conducted with that purity, activity, vigilance and discretion, upon which depend, in so great a degree, the comfort, the happiness and the security of the people. Are the subordinates of the City police of such a description, generally, as to apply to them the epithets select and suitable, would not be to strain the conscience beyond the bounds of Christian morality—to deviate from that straight forward recitude of sentiment which is the peculiar characteristic of the independent Briton? I pause for a reply:—what do the majority of the citizens say? Let them speak out, if they can, in this land of acknowledged despotism. They cannot; they dare not; their tongues are tied down by adamant chains; and a portion of them have the terrors of deportation superadded to the gags in their mouths. Then search the Records of the Police itself: do they contain accounts of the exemplary purity of the Thannadars, Chokedars, and the infamous tribe of Goindas or informers? Are any notices to be found of extortion, and bribery? Of oppressive conduct towards the native inhabitants? Of daring, nay savage, deportment of carriage and conduct towards Europeans in the middle and lower ranks of society? Do the Calendars of the Supreme Court speak particularly of their activity, vigilance and discretion, in detecting or preventing nocturnal irregularities, broils and disturbances; thefts, robberies, and burglaries; or man, woman, and child-murders? If they do, happy is the system of Police in this City; and thrice happy are its inhabitants. They need not be told of their miseries!

But, if the picture be the reverse—In vain do we boast of those liberties which are our birthright, if the vilest and most depraved part of the

(4) In Dhurrumtollah Street.

community are suffered to deprive us of the privileges of traversing the city, after dark, without danger of being assaulted and robbed; and, perhaps, wounded or murdered. In vain may we boast of the security, which the laws afford us, if we cannot lie down to rest in our habitations, without the dread of a burglary being committed, our property invaded, and our lives exposed to imminent danger before the approach of the morning!

A recent robbery in the house of a respectable European temporary sojourner in Calcutta, to the extent of 1,500 Rs. in valuables, and other similar acts, warn us; a late burglary and murder, warn us; our assassin's knife, in Wellington Square, and the Arabian's khunger, in one of the purlieus of the city, warn us. And if, in addition to this, the peace of society can, on every species of pretence, be disturbed by the licentious clamours or turbulent effusions arising from the ill-regulated passions of vulgar life; surely it becomes an interesting enquiry, worthy the attention of every intelligent member of this community—from what source spring these numerous inconveniences; and where is a remedy to be found for so many evils?

If the present set of men are incompetent to perform the duties so essentially necessary in the guardians of the peace; whether from want of physical strength, courage, or purity, let them be replaced, with as much expedition as practicable, by a better set. Let Rajpoots of high class be sought after, and men of the upper provinces; who are superior in physical strength and courage, and can have no communion and fellow-feeling with the ragamuffins of the lower countries. May not some of the most deserving of the sipahees, who are so far disabled as to be ineffectual on the strength of the line, be nominated to Thanadarships and Jummadarships attached to the police? Would not this be making some sort of additional provision for men, who have faithfully served the State? And would it not tend to attach them and their families, who hire themselves to any power that will pay them, the more closely to the interests and well-being of the British Government? I am not sure, in whom the patronage of these appointments is invested; whether in the Chief Magistrate, or in some subordinate Magistrates of old standing. Let it be invested in whom it may, every other consideration should be sacrificed to the good of the service; to the benefit of the public, and to the security and permanency of the British rule in the country. It is generally supposed, that, in the Mofussil, a Thanadarship, is worth from 2,000 to 3,000 rupees; and a Jummadarship, from 500 to 1,000 rupees. How the supposition is borne out by any such jobbings in the interior, I cannot say; nor am I aware that a similar practice obtains at the Presidency. But every appointment to these situations, should be strictly looked into by the Chief Magistrate, if not so done already. I believe the major part of the native subordinates of the police, *ie.*, Thannádars, Jummadars, Choekedars, and Goindas, are the inhabitants of Jessore, Nuddea, and the adjacent parts; which not many years back, were the nests and haunts of robbers and dakoits: but the Chokedars, are principally supposed to come from the places just mentioned. If men of the military tribes, from the upper provinces, cannot

be obtained in Calcutta, at the rate of salary which the present set of men receive, let them be increased for any addition to the expenses of the police in this way, would be no extravagance or waste. These receive, perhaps, 4 rupees per mensem; the others would serve for 5, or, at the most, for 6. Many private gentlemen have in their employ high class Rajpoots, as Chokedars, for this sum per mensem. Officers of justice, who are subjected not only to considerable risks, but also to want of rest, and to this inconvenience of being exposed much in the night time, ought certainly to be liberally paid; so as to make it an object to good and able men to serve as Chokedars; but the emolument should, by no means, depend solely upon a settled monthly allowance; it should principally arise from premiums and regards granted for the meretorious services to the public, actually performed; and their fidelity would, by this means, be in a great measure fortified against the innumerable temptations held out to dishonesty, by receivers of stolen goods; as well as by thieves and housebreakers in all situations where they contemplate the commission of a burglary: and also by disorderly persons, and unfortunate females, in the night, to permit them to escape from the just punishment of the laws, which it is the duty of these nocturnal guardians of the police to put in execution.

The other subordinates in the office are clerks, Interpreters and Constables. May it not be enquired, do these discharge their respective duties with that degree of activity and fidelity, so essentially necessary in a police establishment? Do they exercise no undue influence, either direct or indirect, in the complicate machinery? These questions may not be answered. But in one department, the energy I was almost going to pen, more than impartiality of some of them, may challenge a doubt. It is enacted, I believe, that a faithful list of passengers and crew of every vessel sailing out of this port, should be sworn to, and registered in the police office; and that its constituted officer, should proceed on board her, for personal satisfaction as to the correctness of the list, before she can obtain a Port-clearance: and this with a view to protect the Native against the designs of villany, and being carried away into bondage in foreign lands. It is therefore, I conceive, that a considerable deposit is required to be made in the Treasury, when a native servant is about to proceed to sea, either with children or his employer, to ensure his being sent back to the country.

If such be the regulation, how is it that we have heard of natives being carried away clandestinely in ships. Not many months ago, a case occurred of an India-British lad born here, being taken to Madras, as one of the crew of a ship supposed to be owned either by a Mogul or an Arab merchant and commanded by a foreigner, without the lad's name being entered on the Records of the police. This I understand, was repeatedly brought to the notice of the Magistrates, both after the ship sailed from Calcutta, and on her return from Madras; but if any, or what measures were adopted by them, to investigate into the circumstances, I am, at present, unprepared to say. The lad, however, returned in the ship; but it is not known where he is now.

He may be at Bushire, Muscat, or Egypt. May not others have been carried away, equally in a clandestine manner, and never returned to the country? When we reflect on this circumstance alone, without stopping to enquire into the correctness or otherwise, of the reports: that prevailed of African boys being imported into Calcutta by the Arabs, the establishment of the river police, you recommend, becomes imperiously necessary. To this branch of the police, among its other duties of a beneficial tendency to the Port and Commerce of Calcutta, should be delegated the charge of boarding and inspecting ships, and mustering their crews, both when they enter the river and when they leave it. Indeed there is so much roguery supposed to be going on afloat, that, it is a matter of surprise, a river police has not long since been established.

Another police officer in Chowringhee, would be of use to create rivalry and emulation in the vigorous and active discharge of duties. But the several officers should have their jurisdictions defined, and made totally independent of one another, with exception as to the general control of the Chief Magistrate. But, perhaps, it would be better to divide the city into separate Wards; and a well educated and trusty Indo-Briton appointed to each as Sub-Magistrate, or Deputy, or by whatever name he may be called; with power to hear and decide on minor cases. Thus the office in the Loll-Bazar, would be much relieved: and it would be attaching an additional number of this depressed class of subjects, to the interests of the British Government. Great good, however, may be effected even as things stand at present. Much may be done by an active and conscientious Superintendent of police, if well-supported by his subordinates, both Europeans and Natives, and enjoying the confidence of the higher authorities: and it is generally believed, that no man is more capable of bringing the Metropolitan Police to as great a degree of perfection as practicable, than the present Chief Magistrate; but he should have the co-operation of all under his authority, to heartily second his efforts in rendering the system complete. By some it may be considered impertinence to touch upon the subject of the Police, or of any other public department, however rotten or dilapidated its structure may be; but there are others of a more solid depth of thought, and unfettered by antiquated prejudices: these will say, if a structure fails by the touch, it does not deserve to stand; but if it stands after a shock, we may safely trust ourselves under its roof. But generally, the cry of impertinence is raised by those, who feel their imaginary consequence hurt, or not sufficiently respected; and others, without the why or the wherefore, join in the cry by sympathy, like a pack of Jackals. I hope no consequential and inflated notions of Asiatic Bashawry or Indian Nabobism, will prevent, instead of accelerate, the desired object of police amelioration; nor will it, I trust, be any bar to the accomplishment of so desirable an object, because your pages have been the vehicle of communication. Thus would we wish to see established an energetic police all over the Metropolis, and at a comparatively small expense, considering the security which would arise, and the generous would look also at the mercy of such a

system; for too often opportunities make the criminal.' Under this wish, I now take my leave of the subject.

August 7, 1826.

CANDIDUS.

[*" BENGAL HARKARU "* DECEMBER 12, 1829.]

THE COMPANY'S TRADE MONOPOLY.

JAMES CALDER ESQ., SHERIFF OF CALCUTTA.

SIR,

We the undersigned British Merchants and other inhabitants of Calcutta request you will be pleased to convene a general meeting at the Town Hall at as early a period as possible for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to throw open the China and India trade and to provide on the expiration of the existing Charter of the East India Company for the unfettered application of British skill capital and industry to the Commercial and Agricultural resources of India.

Calcutta, 20th November, 1829.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants.

Radhamadhab Banerjee
Roghuram Gossain
Promotho Nath Dey
Ramratton Bose
Ramchand Bose
Dwarkanath Tagore
Ram Mohan Roy
Ashutosh Dey
Radha Kissen Mitter
Kissen Mohun Bural
Kali Nath Roy
Romma Nauth Tagore

Longueville Clarke
James Minchin
Theodore Dickens
Charles Thackeray
W. L. Cleland
W. Denman
Robert Brown
G. Higgins
R. Howard
Charles Scott Hadow
John Jenkins
M. Myers, etc., etc.

Pursuant to the foregoing requisition I hereby appoint a meeting of the British Inhabitants and other Inhabitants of Calcutta to be held at the Town Hall on Tuesday 15th day of December next at the hour of 11 in the forenoon for the purpose expressed by the requisitionists.

The 2nd December, 1829.

JAMES CALDER,
Sheriff of Calcutta.

[*"JOHN BULL," CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 27, 1830.*]

RAMMOHAN ROY AND THE "TIMOUR MISSION."

Albeit the particular chapter and verse, in which the news is chronicled have escaped from our recollection, some of our readers may possibly remember our having given notice of an intended mission to Europe by the well known Native Baboo Rammohan Roy, as envoy or ambassador, or in some such character from His Majesty the Emperor of Delhi. When we picked up the rumour as it was flying around us some months ago, we placed but a modified faith in its truth, not then being acquainted with the details of this interlude in our practical drama that are now before us; these are in some parts amusing enough; and as they nearly concern public interests, are legitimate subjects of remark: in other particulars and events arising out of them, our readers would find anything but gratification or amusement; and these may be pasted over with great propriety.

In the month of August last Rammohun Roy communicated his intention of proceeding to Europe, on an Embassy from the King of Delhi to the Court of Great Britain to Mr. Montgomery Martin at that time Editor of the Bengal Herald. According to the gentleman's statement, the object of the Envoy was to obtain redress for an alleged injustice, which the House of Timour had suffered at the hands of the Company. This injustice, it seems, consists in the Company having withheld from His Imperial Majesty certain stipends and rights guaranteed to him by certain treaties solemnly and deliberately entered into. In consequence of these treaties having been violated, it was represented to Mr. Montgomery Martin, that "the Royal Family were now reduced to such a state of abject misery, that they had not a sufficiency of clothing to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, and that frequently they were only enabled to obtain a proper quantity of food to satisfy the cravings of nature once in three days." How Mr. Martin came to put the slightest credit in such a story carrying its refutation on its very face, we are at a loss to say, but according to him he was induced by this picture involving as it did the character of his country, to offer to accompany the Envoy to England. He says, he was further informed, that "all the Mahomedans in India, looked up to the House of Timour with the utmost veneration and devotion," a veneration in which we are to infer that Rammohun, though a Hindoo and Brahmin, participated—a species of patriotism which likely enough owes its birth to the "March of Intellect School." We could, however, more easily pass over this partiality to the House of Timour on the part of the King of Delhi's Envoy; but when we find it added on the same authority, that "the Mahomedans would of course eagerly embrace the first fitting opportunity to rebel against British Supremacy in resentment for the indignity and injuries inflicted on the descendants of the formerly acknowledged sovereigns of the whole of Hindoostan," we are constrained from a sense of justice, to proclaim and applaud the allegiance and fidelity to the Honorable Company, which no doubt originated the proposed mission

with the sole view of averting the said calamity. Mr. Martin to show his zeal and sincerity in the cause of the Mogul, or rather of the British Government immediately proposed to relinquish his Editorship of the Bengal Herald, to devote himself entirely to the King of Delhi's service. This communication made through Dwarkanath Tagore to Rammohun Roy, was received with great satisfaction by the Envoy, who signified, that he would immediately write on the subject to His Imperial Master. So disinterested was Mr. Martin in the affair, that he stipulated for receiving no more wages from the King of Delhi, than just enough to defray his expenses and house rent whilst in Calcutta, estimated at the moderate sum of 10 rupees a day, which sum, however, moderate, as it is, we cannot help thinking, would be found to bear hard upon the Head of the House of Timour, some of whose own family according to the tale of the Envoy, can only "obtain food to satisfy the cravings of nature, once in three days."

These preliminaries being arranged, the end of August or September was fixed on for the Envoy leaving Calcutta via Cuttack and Madras to Bombay and England. Circumstances however occurred to delay the expected departure; and during five months Mr. Martin acted the part of assistant to the Envoy to the King of Delhi, receiving 300 rupees a month as salary or wages from the Mogul—and so extremely disinterested does the assistant appear to have been, that he proposed and engaged of his own accord, that if the mission was unsuccessful, he would consider what money he was now constrained to take, as due by him to the unfortunate descendants of Timour. This was certainly an extreme degree of generosity, more especially when it is kept in mind that Mr. Martin, to be able to devote his whole time and labours to the House of Timour, gave up the Editorship of the Bengal Herald with 500 rupees a month, salary. We observe indeed that he says he never received "a fraction" of his anticipated salary, and he argues very logically that the paper was not set on foot for his advantage, both out of the fact of never having been paid his promised salary, and out of another equally conclusive, that during the months of September, October, November, Mr. D. L. Richardson was regularly paid the 500 rupees as Editor in the place of Mr. Montgomery Martin.

About the end of September or beginning of October the Envoy intimated to his assistant, that he had given up the idea of proceeding via Cuttack, but that as soon as the Doorga Pujah holidays were over he would send his Sircars to get boats ready for the purpose of proceeding to Allahabad, from whence he would proceed through Ranjit Singha's territory. On this intimation being received, the Assistant very properly purchased a pinnace from Messrs. De Souza and Co. to carry him and his family. At this time Mr. Martin was living in a boat off Chandpal Ghat and for three months was in daily expectation of being summoned by the Envoy to set out on his Mission. But on or about the 2nd January, a new danger assailed the Envoy and the presence of Mr. Martin at the house of Rammohun Roy became

necessary to protect him from assassination. The Envoy declared to his Assistant that his life was seriously threatened by a gang of assassins, and Mr. Martin proposed to occupy the spare rooms in his house, and to arm the household in his defence—a proposal accepted by the Envoy with great joy, but with a request that the cause of his going to Rammohun's house should not be made public, as the Envoy did not like to be considered a "coward, or afraid." Fire-arms, gun powder and daggers were immediately procured, and Burkandazzes employed to guard the premises. Mr. Martin it appears procured a double barrellled gun—a single barrellled gun—three pair of pistols—a sabre and three sword sticks, etc., etc. The Burkandazzes were duly exercised in firing, and one was armed with a kind of battle axe and thus the whole garrison was equipped and ready for defence. When the Envoy during these perilous days came into town, Mr. Martin accompanied him armed at his special desire with a brace of pistols and a sword stick—Rammohun himself having a naval dagger in his pocket, a sword stick in his hand and his attendants also well armed. If our readers ask from what quarter of the heavens or earth the danger came, that threatened the Envoy of the House of Timour, we can only guess from hints dropped here and there, that the Anti (sic) cause of their enmity was the part that the Envoy had taken in obtaining from Government the suppression of this most cruel and horrid custom (of Suttee).

Preparations for the setting out of the mission appear, however, to have gone on along with preparations for the defence of the Envoy and his house, for on or about the 23rd January, 1920 a letter from the Secretary in the Persian department announced to Rammohun Roy that Government would not sanction his adopting the title of Rajah, nor recognise him as Envoy of the King of Delhi;—a determination on the part of the Governor General in Council which we dare say will surprise no one; our only marvel is how such demands should have ever been upon them. The determination, however, on the part of authority, seem to have not a little nonplussed the Envoy—but the wits of his good assistant were ready at hand upon the occasion, and he immediately writes a letter to Rammohun Roy stating that "that as the Government would not recognise Rammohun's official situation, and as the adjustment of the King of Delhi's claims was a matter of the utmost importance, not only as it affected His Majesty, but also as regarded the integrity and pledged faith of the British Nation," he (Mr. Montgomery Martin) would himself proceed to England with duplicate copies of all the papers on the subject, and lay them before the British Government at home, where he had no doubt, by representing the case in its true light, the Court of Directors and Board of Control would sanction either the appointment of Rammohun or some other person, for the investigation and settlement of the King of Delhi's affairs. The Envoy thought the scheme worthy of attention, and said he would take 24 hours to reflect upon it. During these 24 hours there burst a storm from another quarter; and we are much afraid from all we see and understand, that the head of the House of Timour must have a little patience,

before he obtains redress of his grievous wrongs, or his family anything more than dinner "once in three days."

In the papers and letters now before us, from which we have culled the above historical details of the "Timour Mission," we observe the name of several European gentlemen, who, we cannot help thinking, had as lief not been lifted to fame by such a lever. We are sorry we can give our readers no particular information, as to the papers of which Mr. Martin was employed to take duplicate copies, and with which he was to proceed to England; but when he states as we observe he does, that these papers were obtained from a public office by bribery, how could he ever had entertained the notion, that with such credentials he would have been listened to a moment by either the Court of Directors or the Board of Control? The whole business, so far as we have related it, is a complete farce, exposing all concerned in it to ridicule.

[*"JOHN BULL,"* JANUARY 2, 1832.]

THE OPENING OF THE HINDU THEATRE.

It is with sincere pleasure we notice the opening of the Hindu Amateur Theatre, which took place on Wednesday evening last; an establishment which reflects the greatest credit upon the founders, and which will certainly tend to refine the taste and improve the talents of Hindu Society.

With well-omened punctuality the performance commenced at the time appointed, by an opening address written for the occasion by a classic liberal and well-known friend of native genius. It was spoken by a young gentleman whose unassuming deportment excited considerable interest and whose correct delivery elicited the warmest applause. A portion of the Rama Chiritas translated from the Sanscrit by H. H. Wilson Esqr. followed, which was highly gratifying from its natural character as well as from the novelty it presented to the English part of the audience. The last act of Julius Caesar closed the dramatic entertainment of the evening, and if we had been accustomed, as we hope to be, to the difference in complexion, we might have appreciated the correct utterance and the skilful acting of the amateurs, for which they are indebted to the laudable exertions of a gentleman, who very kindly volunteered his experience in directing the histrionic performance.

Amongst the audience which was select, we observed Sir E. Ryan and several ladies and gentlemen of fashion, who expressed their perfect approbation of the performance. Before the company left the grounds, which were illuminated, they were amused with a brilliant and a very beautiful display of fire-works. We understand that a more extensive Theatre is to be prepared, and that a society formed for that purpose have resolved to make every effort to re-establish the drama in India.—Hurkaru.

[“ JOHN BULL,” JANUARY 4, 1832.]

THE ABOLITION OF PERSIAN AS COURT LANGUAGE.

In the *Chundrika* of last Monday, the learned editor of that paper has stated that it is the determination of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck Governor General Bahadur to abolish the use of the Persian language in the transaction of business. We likewise joyfully contemplate the prospect that His Excellency will be pleased to substitute the Bengalee language for the persian. For if in Bengal, the Bengalee language be used in the administration of Justice and the like, nothing can be expected but that public business will be happily conducted through the general intelligence.—Pravakar.

[November 17, 1832.]

A LEVEE AT AGRA.

The Governor General will hold a Levee at 11 p.m. on Monday on the Taj for all who wish to wait upon him, and Lady William will at the same hour see the ladies inclined to call.

T. Beaty. Offg. Brigade Major.
Agra November 16. 1832.

[“ JOHN BULL,” NOVEMBER 27, 1832.]

THE ABOLITION OF SUTTEE.

According to advertisement, to consider the propriety of sending an address of thanks to His Majesty, because the abolition of Suttees by the Indian Government has been confirmed by his Privy Council in England, last Saturday evening the Hindoos who favour the abolition of Suttees formed a Society at the Bramya Somaj in Jorasanko with the permission of the trustees of that building. Of Europeans Mr. James Pattle chief member of the Sudder Board, Captain Everest, Mr. David Hare and several other individuals of distinction attended whose names we know not and therefore cannot publish. We can also confidently affirm that 300/400 hundred respectable Hindoos came to the meeting. In the first place Baboo Radhaposad Roy proposed that Baboo Dwarka Nath Thakoor be appointed Chairman of the meeting and the motion being seconded by Srijut Ram Chunder Gangopadhya was carried unanimously. Mr. James Pattle informed the Chairman that Mr. Alexander Ross the 1st judge of Sudder (he will soon come into the Council) was exceedingly desirous of attending the meeting but has been prevented by previous engagement. The Chairman then rose and said that the gentlemen present must be aware of thre object of the meeting. “ When the Governor General Lord William Bentinck abolished the burning of women certain of our fellow Hindoos through hatred or for some other reason had appealed to England. The appeal however has been dismissed by the King in Privy Council. Where

fore we the Hindoos now present have met to send an address of thanks to His Majesty the King of England. What greater cause of congratulation can we have than this that Mr. James Pattle has attended our meeting and Mr. Alexander Ross has sent us information that he is prevented coming solely by a particular engagement? Except the Governor General there is none in higher authority in the Judicial and Revenue Departments than these gentlemen. Their attendance deserves our best acknowledgements, and the presence of those other gentlemen increases our confidence. Many other distinguished gentlemen also have expressed their regret that from not having notice of the meeting a day earlier they were unable to attend on account of previous engagements. Likewise many Hindoos of the first rank regret that their private affairs have prevented their attendance and they have declared their approbation of such an address as will be adopted by this meeting and their readiness to affix their signatures to it." Babu Kali Nath Roy Choudhuri then rose and said with much elegance that for some time the practise of burning women with their deceased husbands has prevailed in our country. "We consider it however an abominable thing neither is it stated in the Shastras to be a rite of chief importance as have been shown by many proofs. It has been continued in our country only by violence and covetousness and we have not only considered it abominable, but through this burning of women we have been disgraced and put to shame in the eye of many. For this reason foreigners have not only despised but even abhorred us because we have not a spark of compassion for our wives. Moreover through this means some of our countrymen have been guilty of their mother's death but by our British Rulers this load of disgrace have been removed from us and why therefore should we not declare that His British Majesty is unequalled in the preservation of the lives and property and the honour of his subjects? Can we refuse to render our thanks to the English people for the beneficial measure? But in this matter we are under special obligations to the benevolence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck Governor General in Council and had we each a thousand mouths we should be unable to declare their praise. Wherefore I move that an address of thanks be sent to the King of England." Babu Mathur Nath Mullick then rose and seconded. It was carried unanimously. Babu Prosonno Kumar Tagore next rose and expressed his sentiments by saying "the King of England is our Paramount Sovereign, by our country having come into the hands of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and to him I therefore move that a letter of thanks be sent," which was seconded by Baboo Tarachand Chakravarty and was carried unanimously. Srijut Radha-prasad Roy rose and said that an address be sent to Lord William Cavendish Bentinck in seconding which Babu Ram Lochan Ghosh observed: "In 1819 when I was a Sheereestadar in the Civil Court at Patna the wife of a respectable friend of mine there was desirous of becoming a Suttee but the Judge Mr. W. H. Tippett showed great anxiety to prevent her. However he was prevailed upon by my entreaties and those of the family not to interfere. When the time of the burning arrived I saw myself that the poor old woman was

bound down with bamboos and hemp ropes. From that time it has been my earnest desire that this practice might be abolished. It is strange that certain Hindoo Gentlemen will put their fingers in their ears and run out of the place when they witness the sacrifice of kids and the life taken whilst in this matter they show not a particle of feeling unless it be as much as is possible of cruelty. It must certainly be allowed that when the Musalmans were our rulers, they committed many acts of violence and injustice for the suppression of our religion. Thus Atoorung (Aurungzebe) Badsah levelled with the ground the temple of Siva at Beneras and erected a Musjid in its place and by force made many Hindoos Musalmans and in many similar ways attempted to overthrow the Hindoo religion." Babu Shamlal Thakoor moved that a committee be appointed to prepare all the addresses both in the Bengalee and the English language consisting of Dwarka Nath Thakoor, Prasanno Kumar Thakoor, Kalinath Roy, Radha Prosad Roy, Mathur Nath Mullick, Harihar Dutt, Hara Chandra Lahiri, Shamlal Thakoor. Babu Harihar Dutt moved that Rajah Ram Mohan Roy be requested to present these addresses himself which was seconded by Srijut Ram Chandra Gangopadhya and carried unanimously.

Babu Chandra Sikhar Deb moved that as the Rajah had devoted much labour to this matter thanks were likewise due to him. The motion was seconded by Babu Shamlal Thakoor and carried. Srijut Krishna Mohun Banerjee spoke at great length on the jealous endeavours of the Rajah for the abolition of the evil customs and practices of this country.

[*"INDIA GAZETTE," FEBRUARY 20, 1833.*]

ADDRESSES OF THANKS TO MAGISTRATES.

A portion of the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta met at the Police office on Saturday last to present addresses of thanks—the one to David McFarlane Esq. Chief Magistrate of Calcutta and the other to Captain Steel Superintendent of Police for having stopped the excessive charges upon the burning of dead bodies levied by the Murdafarases. At about half past four the native gentleman present entered into the room of Mr. McFarlane where Captain Steel was also seen. Babu Dwarka Nath Mittra presented the addresses to these gentlemen with an introduction of a short speech. Mr. McFarlane observed that the natives should form themselves into Committee to consider the state of roads and drains etc. and make any suggestions to him which they thought proper, for he was at all times ready to attend to them. Whoever has once been to the native part of the town must be convinced of the sad truth, that the state of the roads etc. is highly unclean and disgusting. Captain Steel spoke a little and that in so low a voice that his words were not distinctly heard.

[“INDIA GAZETTE,” MARCH 6, 1833.]

DISCOVERY OF THE SYLHET COAL MINES.

Mr. James Stark discovered early in 1815, some coal mines on the lower hills of Sylhet and worked them sufficiently deep to send down samples to the Government through Mr. Dacosta. By directions from Mr. A. Trotter then Secretary in the Public Department about 50 maunds were sent to the foundry in Fort William, the same quantity to the gun carriage yard at Cossipore and an equal quantity was tried in the Mint as also 25 maunds at Mr. Jessop's. The reports on these samples proving favourable Mr. Stark submitted proposals for supplying Government with coals at Rs. 1/8/- per maund to any extent required, of the quality of the samples sent, and even superior: these being declined, he next obtained the indulgence of Government to import into Calcutta duty free for five years. The first thousand maunds having arrived in Calcutta and remaining on hand unsold, he abandoned the mines.

[“INDIA GAZETTE,” MARCH 22, 1833.]

HINDU COLLEGE PUPILS.

Yesterday was fixed upon as the day previous to the vacation usually given at this time of the year, for the distribution of prizes to the native boys educated at the Hindu College. The Governor General arrived at about 20 minutes past 10 o'clock and the Bishop of Calcutta and Sir Edward Ryan having also arrived the business of the day commenced. The first and second classes read some historical passages drawn up for the occasion and were examined by the Bishop in the Chronology of Europe. The prizes were then distributed, the younger classes receiving these from the hands of Mr. Shakespear and the first and second classes were honoured by having their prizes of books delivered to them immediately, His Lordship at the same time addressing a few words of praise to those who had particularly distinguished themselves.

There were several recitation:—

Cato's Soliloquy—by Tarinee Churn Mukerjee

Sc. 1. Act 1. Two gentlemen of Verona—by Ramtunoo Lahiri (Proteus).

Modusudan Sen (Speed).

Several lads sustained characters in Othello. Sc. III. Act III. Of these Issur Chunder Saha (Othello) and Rajnarain Dutt (Desdemona) were most successful. A child of 5 years Moti Lal Basak attracted great attention in reciting Cowper's lines on the Rose. Among the productions of the lads were exhibited several drawings of which the delineations of animals were the most, and those of the flowers were the least, successful. Some sketches of horses were finished with much taste.

[INDIA GAZETTE," OCTOBER 30, 1833.]
ESTABLISHMENT OF A SAVINGS BANK.

The principal features of the plan are that the Bank will be under Government responsibility, open to receive deposits from all in sums not less than one rupee and four per cent interest is to be allowed thereon, Government reserving the power of lowering or raising the rate of interest after six months' notice in the Calcutta Gazette. When the deposits of anyone amount to Rs. 500/- they are to be transferred to 4 per cent. Loan. The bank will be open for business on the 1st November, and the following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee of Management :—

Charles Morley, Esq., J. A. Dorin Esq., Government Agents; Adjutant General of His Majesty's Forces; Senior Officer of King's Troops in Fort William; Town Major; Theodore Dickens Esq., James Kyd, Esq., C. E. Trevelyan Esq. Captn. H. B. Henderson, Dwarkanath Tagore, Ashutosh Dey, Radhamadhab Banerjee, Ram Comal Sein, Rasomoy Dutt and Cossypersaud Ghose.

The managers of the Savings Bank met on October 11, at the Town Hall for the purpose of making arrangements for opening the Bank on the day named. Two managers should meet for purposes of superintendence at the Bank on the first Monday every month and a General Meeting should be held quarterly. The Bank is open from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. every day except Sundays and holidays. An office is preparing for it in the compound of the General Treasury by building up the space between the two gates which lead to the Treasury and Accountant General's Office. Mr. F. Macnaghten is the Secretary and Mr. D. W. H. Speed is Actuary. The whole detail will be under the immediate direction of the Government Agents.—Calcutta Courier.

["INDIA GAZETTE " NOVEMBER 9, 1833.]

ABOLITION OF INDIGO BONDS.

Government have done away with the Bonds which were heretofore taken on the import into Calcutta of Indigo in quantities not under 100 maunds; but the old system of Rowannahs on quantities less than 100 maunds is still to be retained, for what good reason, it may not be easy to say, since the worst parts of the old way or rather all the evil of it remains; *because* the establishments which produce so much vexation, and more to the small importers than to the great ones, are necessarily retained. While any remnant of these is kept up for these purposes, there can be no want of good and reasonable pretexts for oppression and harrassing of passing boats. Whether they have a hundred maunds exactly or something more or a little less, are nice questions; just the sort of pleasant knotty points which your expert Douanier loves should fall under his adjustment and inspection, and which

are of marvellous superfluity—fruitful beyond belief and in all countries parturient of “despatch fees,” “expedition fees,” “diligence,” “anti-diligence fees” and all the rest of the catalogue of chokey oppressions, bad enough everywhere, worse here than anywhere, and which this well intended Indigo measure of Lord William Bentinck’s will leave in fullest force of bearing on the poorest classes of importers—those in short, least able to bear it.—Hurkaru.

[“INDIA GAZETTE,” NOVEMBER 25, 1833.]

THE IMPORTATION OF AMERICAN ICE.

To

W. C. Rogers Esq. of Boston.

Sir,

The importation of American ice into Calcutta is an enterprise so novel and beneficial that I can not resist the desire of expressing to you my sense of the spirit and skill by which it has been planned and executed. I beg that you, under whose superintendence it has been conducted, will do me the favour to accept the accompanying small token of the gratification which I have derived from the success of this extraordinary undertaking. A few months ago such a project as that which you have realised would have been regarded as visionary and I have no hesitation in declaring to you my opinion that its accomplishment must be attended with great public benefit. I sincerely hope that you may find ample encouragement to persevere in your speculation, comfort to the inhabitants of this great and populous City.

I am Sir your most obedient and humble servant

Sd. W. C. Bentinck.

Calcutta 22nd Novr. 1833.

On Friday Mr. Rogers the Superintendent of the ice imported by the Treasury received from the Governor General the cup to which reference has already been made in the public prints, accompanied by His Lordship’s letter.

Messrs. Hamilton & Co. manufactured the very neat silver gilt vase whose ornaments of bunches of flowers and fruit intersected by foliage are admirably embossed.

Three Days at the Bandel Convent, Hugli (1920)

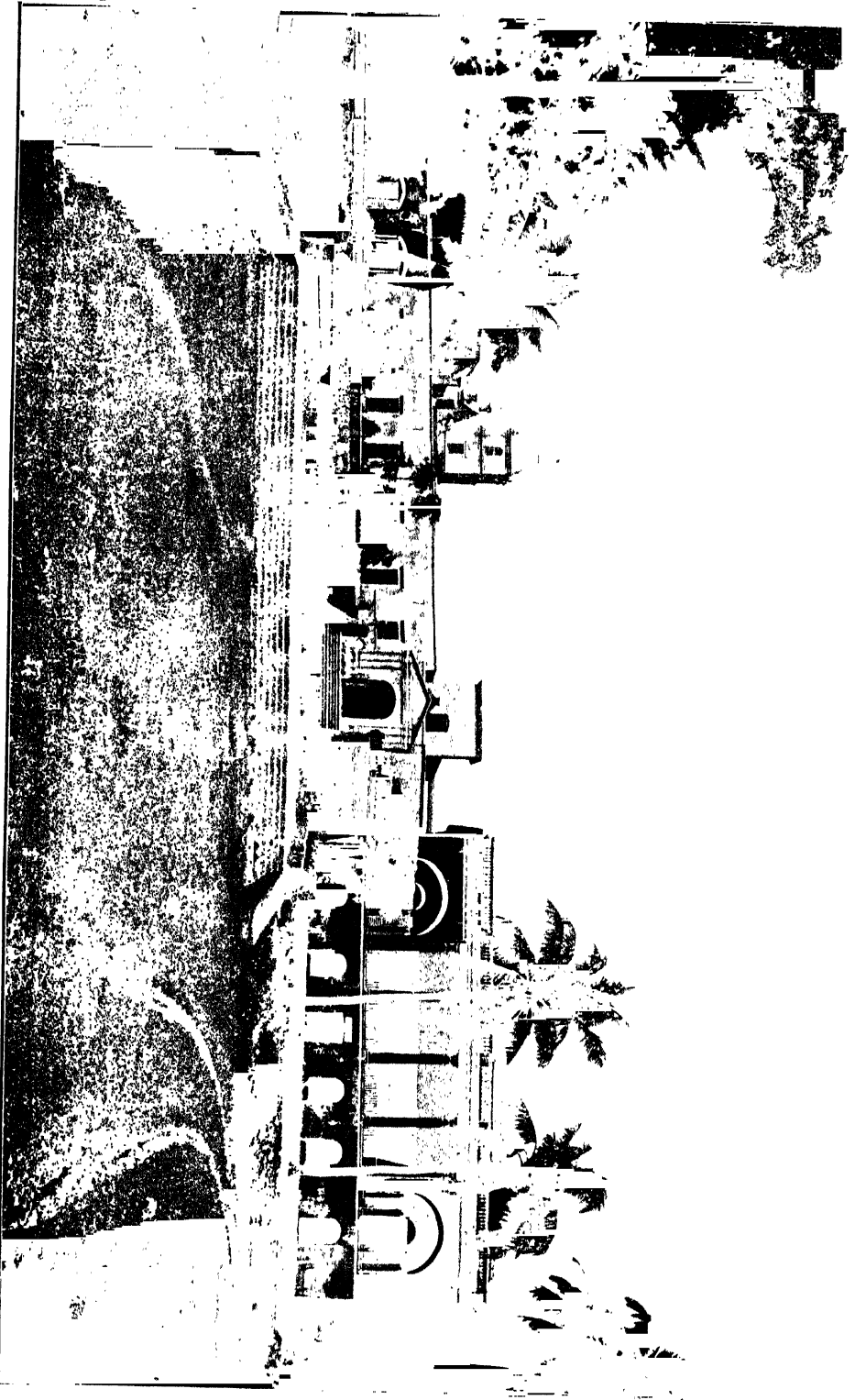
BETWEEN Thursday, January 8, and Sunday, January 11, 1920, I was once more a guest at the Bandel Convent of Hugli, which I had not revisited since 1914 (1). In 1912, I had examined the Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers of Bandel and Chinsura. This time I intended investigating what other old documents might have been preserved.

The Prior, Father Theodoro Menezes, kindly placed all his papers at my disposal. There was, however, little to interest me. Most of the papers were modern, and all I did was to jot down the titles and dates of the registers containing them. I was surprised at the amount of registers that go to make up the archives of a parish after a hundred years. If the Augustinians of old kept as many registers, or even only half the amount, the quantity of literature for local history lost in the course of two centuries and a half must have been considerable.

Found, all in good condition, and bound in solid tomes:—

1. Livro das contas da Confraria de Bandel, from 1869 to 1880.
2. Livro das contas da Confraria de Nossa Senhora do Rosario de Bandel, from 1881 to 1889.
3. Livro das Contas da Confraria de Nossa Senhora do Rosario de Bandel, from 1889 to April 1915 inclusively.
4. A list of the Members of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel, from 1877, with some names of between 1864 and 1877.
5. Certificates of admission to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel.
6. Diplomas for Presidents and Lady Patronesses.
7. Livro do estado das almas de Bandel e Chinsura, *i.e.*, a census-book of the Catholic population of Bandel and Chinsura, containing also letters and pastorals of the Bishops of Mylapore, all copied at great expense of labour, and dating from April 29, 1879.
8. Collecção da correspondencia original e authentica, from 1898 to 1916.
9. Another similar file, from September 1917.
10. Livro da correspondencia remetida, from December 28, 1886.
11. Record of donations to the Bandel Church from 1878 up to date.
12. Inventory of properties, policies, jewels, etc., of the Chinsura Church, August 12, 1820.

(1). See previous article by Fr Hosten: "A week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli"; published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, pp. 36—120.



THE CONVENT AT BANDEL : EASTERN FRONT.
(St. Augustine's Hall on the right)

Father Menezes had begun a new volume (No. 13): a list of landed properties belonging to the Convent. It began by a note written by himself in 1918:—

“ This Zemindari comprises the whole village of Bolaghar, the whole village of Potty Chokormani, and part of the village of Queota, the whole area being 777 bighas. It does not pay rent to the Government, being a free gift of the Emperor Akbar to the Bandel Church, Hooghly, Bengal, confirmed by the new farman in the year 1648.”

I asked the Reverend Father what authority he had for these statements. He answered by pointing to a copy of a reprint from *Bengal Past and Present* of my “ *A week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli.*” The statement about Akbar and the year 1648 had, therefore, no independent authority. Whether what I have now copied tallies with the drift of my former article I must leave to the careful student to investigate. I learned on the same occasion from the Rev. Prior that, out of the 777 bighas, about 550 belong still to the Bandel Church, the rest having been lost in spite of never-ending litigation (2). I merely glanced through all the aforesaid papers. More interesting was:—

14. *Livro das copias dos Testamentos dos Padres que morrem nesta Missao de Bengalla deixando algum legado ou pensao a este Convento de Bandel, feito no anno do Senhor 1844.* (Book containing copies of the wills of the Fathers who, on dying in this Mission of Bengalla, leave to this Convent of Bandel some legacy or pension. Done in the year of Our Lord 1844).

The first will—a copy—ends thus in solemn style: “ Perto nesta villa de Bandel de Hooghly do Dominio da Corte de Portugal por Doação q' fez o Imperador de Delly o Rei Sojao no anno de 1633, feito esta aos 27 de Junho de 1832.” (Done on the 27th of June 1832, near this town of Bandel of Hooghly of the Dominion of the Court of Portugal, through a donation made by the Emperor of Delly, King Sojao, in the year 1633). (Signed): “ Fr. Antonio de Nossa Senhora da Graça, Religiozo reformado do N. Pe. S. Francisco.” The others who signed after him were: Frei Antonio de Santa Ritta, Padre Manoel do Cenaculo, Frei Gaspar de Santa Izabel, and Frei Joaquim de Santa Ritta.

We have no reason to doubt about the 777 bighas of land granted to the Bandel of Hugli by the Moghal Emperors: but we might have asked the good Franciscan Friar how he would have proved that Shah Jahan (o *Rei Sojao*), who, by the way, did not sit at Delhi before the completion of his new palace at Shahjahanabad (Delhi) in 1648, was the donor, that the donation took place in 1633, the very year after he had destroyed Bandel and Hugli, and lastly that the gift was made, not to the Convent, but to the Crown of Portugal. This last point, that the grant had been made to the Convent, is precisely the one which former Priors were at such pains to establish.

(2). J. J. A. Campos (Bandel, 1922, p. 18 n. 1) states that as many as 600 bighas still belong to the Church.

But let that pass. The Friar asked to be buried in the nave of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, close *ao supedaneo do mesmo altar* "owing to his great desire to be buried at the feet of the said Senhora." If he died at Bandel, his supreme wish must have been complied with, but I miss him in my extracts from the Burial Registers. (3).

He had Rs 5,000 with Frei Sinão da Conceição, in Company's paper at 5 : Rs. 700 with the same, not on interest : Rs. 1,000 in silver in the 'deposit' of the Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary, Bandel; 6 *meias doubles Portuguezas em ouro* (6 half doubles Portuguese in gold), 10 *volumores de ouro da terra* (10 gold mohurs (1) of gold (4), Indian money): *hum mcio volumore, dous quartos de volumores* (one half gold mohur, and two quarter gold mohurs): also, in the hands of Frei Antonio da Santa Maria, 31 half doubles Portuguese in gold: after which he mentions all his table furniture, some of which was of silver. He was "a professed Religious of the Order of the Reformed Religious of St. Francis, of the Province of the Mother of God, Goa, East India."

In another will, dated January 15, 1819, Pedro Gonsalves, of Calcutta, leaves money to the Roman Catholic Church of Calcutta. He had a house at Arrybanky, Zillah Backergunge, and other property.

Follows the will of Nicolas Jebb, November 22, 1822, in which clauses 24, 25 and 30 mention charitable bequests.

Next comes the last will and testament of Mary Logman, who left money to the four Roman Catholic Churches of Calcutta, Bandel, Chinsura and Serampore.

The next document is a deed of trust by Father Frei Francisco de Santa Maria to Joseph Barretto and Diego Pereira, concerning Rs. 25,000 left in or about February 1770 by a person whose identity the Friar was not at liberty to disclose. The deed is dated January 1, 1790, and bears a number of endorsements. The money was left for repairs at the (Augustinian) Church of Our Lady of Grace (Goa), and at the Churches of Bandel, Serampore, and Calcapore (near Kasimbazar).

I had been shown first the original of this deed, a separate paper, all in tatters, and at Father Menezes' wish I had started deciphering and copying it. Finding a copy in this *Livro das copias dos Testamentos* and having meanwhile discovered some other important papers, I ceased copying the above deed of trust, with the result that I now miss its endorsements, two of which are dated March 15, 1825, the third being of September 4, 1844.

The last will is that of Father Frei Antonio da Assumpção, dated Dacca, February 2, 1839. He was a Friar of the Order of Hermits of St.

(3). Cf. *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XI, No. 22, 1915: "The Bandel and Chinsura Church Registers, 1752—1913." Father Prior T. Menezes examined three times the Burial Registers from 1832 down to the records of the last Augustinian Friar, without discovering the death of Frei Antonio de Nossa Senhora da Graça. (Letter of Fr. T. Menezes, 15th January, 1921).

(4). These *volumores de ouro*, gold mohurs in gold, are worth a place in the next edition of Hobson Jobson.

Augustine, of the 'late' Convent of Our Lady of Grace, Goa, and under the above date he declares himself Vicar of Nossa Senhora das Dores of Boitacana, Calcutta. The Rectory of Bhawal (Nagori) near Dacca owed him Rs. 10,000, Ustruffally and Sons, and Ha hevas Cam (?) also owed him money. He held several 'Tumasooks,' all of which were in the hands of the Vicar of Dacca, the Rev. Jose Antonio de 'Carvalho' (clause 5). He had Rs. 8,000 in promissory notes of the Hon'ble Company (clause 6); to the poor of S. Estevoã (Goa) he gave Rs. 500 (clause 7), to the heirs of Dionysio Salvador de Allin-quarque (Albuquerque?) of the village of Pibruc, in the City of Pangin (Goa), he left Rs. 500 (clause 8); one-third of most of his money he left for low masses for himself, one-third for alms to the poor at Bhawal (Nagori), Baitha-khana (Calcutta), and Bandel (clause 9): the masses not yet said at his death were to be shared equally by Frei João de Santa Roza and Frei Antonio da Guia.

(Signed): Frei Antonio da Assumpção. Witnesses Clemente Jas. dos Anjos: Padre Antonio Jose de Carvalho: P. F. Rebello, Jandaymoodeen, inhabitant of Rangamatee (5).

More important in my opinion was:—15. "A register containing the appointments of the Superiors of the Bengal Mission from 1799 to 1845." It had escaped my investigations in 1912, and I set out to copy of it as much as I could, and, as my time was limited, to summarise the remainder. Eventually, I hope to return to the task, copy the entire 25 pages of MS. text, and get it published in the original Portuguese in some learned review in Goa, such as (*O Oriente Portugues*).

To give an idea of the method followed in these appointments, I translate the first two entries:—

1. "On the 12th of September of the year 1799, the Very Rev. Father Prior Frei Manoel do Rozario convoked the Religious of the Council of this Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Hogolim, and the Very Rev. Master Frei Jozé da Graça presented, before all present, a paper, closed and sealed, entitled: Nomination as Commissary Provincial of Our Mission of Bengala. It was opened and read publicly, and it was found that the same Very Rev. Father Master Frei José da Graça was elected for the said place, whom all the Religious acknowledged as the legitimate Prelate of this Mission.

"In the same way he presented another paper entitled Nomination as Vicar Prior of the Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Bandel of Hogolim, which being opened and read publicly, the Very Rev. Father Manoel Frei do Rozario was found to have been appointed to the said post, and the Religious present tendered to him their obedience as to their legitimate Prelate.

"In truth whereof this entry was made on the same day, month, and year as above.

(5). Where I write *Frei* (= Frater), the original has always 'Fr.', of which the spelling at the time would have been *Fre* or *Frey*, rather than *Frei*.

(Signed): Frei Jozé da Graç, *Commissary Provincial*.
 Frei Manoel do Rozario, *Vicar Prior*.
 Frei Antonio de S. Rita.
 Frei Joaquim Pinheiro.
 Frei Manoel do Cenaculo."

2. " On the 26th of April 1802, the Very Rev. Father Prior Frei Manoel do Rozario convoked the under-mentioned Religious of this Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Ugoly, and, before all, the said Very Rev. Father Prior Frei Manoel do Rozario presented a Patent of the (appointment as) Commissary Provincial of our Mission of Bengala, which said Patent having been read publicly in the said Convent, the same Very Rev. Father Prior Frei Manoel do Rozario was found to have been elected for the said place of Commissary Provincial, and all the Religious acknowledged him as the legitimate Prelate of the Mission.

" In truth whereof this entry was made on the same day, month, and year *ut supra*.

(Signed): Frei Manoel do Rozario, *Prior and Commissary Provincial*.
 Frei Francisco de Santa Maria.
 Frei Antonio de S. Rita.
 Frei Christovão de S. Roza de Lima.
 Frei Jozé de S. Vicente.

As a rule, the tenure of office was short. The appointments were made by the Augustinian Provincial of Goa and his Chapter. The formula of the business transacted at these meetings of the Council of the Bengal Mission always mentions the person who convokes the meeting and the person who reads the appointments. At times, too, we get the name of the Provincial of Goa. By 'Prior' is always meant the Prior of the Convent of the Bandel of Hugli, the mother-church of the Augustinians in Bengal (1599), and by 'Rector' is meant the Rector of the Mission of St. Nicholas of Tolentino at Nagori near Dacca. Till 1845 the appointments of Commissary Provincial, Prior, and Rector were always held by Augustinians.

Other nominations were :—

October 29, 1802.—Frei Luiz da Luz, Prior.

October 12, 1804.—Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Commissary Provincial.

August 14, 1805.—Frei Manoel do Rozario, Commissary Provincial; Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Vicar Prior.

May 17, 1806.—Frei Francisco de S. Joze, Vicar Prior.

January 11, 1808.—Frei Manoel do Rozario, Commissary Provincial of Bengal and the Choromandel Coast: Frei Francisco de S. Joze, Prior: Frei Manoel da Piedade, Rector of the Mission of S. Nicolão of Tolentino.

January 3, 1811.—Frei Manoel do Rozario, Commissary Provincial *ad interim* of Bengal and the Choromandel Coast: Frei Francisco de S. Joze, Prior, Frei Manoel da Piedade, Rector.

July 19, 1811.—Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, Commissary Provincial.

August 24, 1812.—Frei Joze da Piedade, the Visitor, is appointed Vicar Prior by a *provisao* of the Commissary Provincial, Frei Manoel de S. Therea, dated August 21, 1812.

May 4, 1813.—The Prior, Frei Francisco de S. Joze, having died, a patent from the Provincial, Frei Joaquim de Carvalho, appoints the Definitor Frei Joaquim das Neves as Vicar Prior.

April 19, 1814.—Father Master Provincial and Commissary, Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, announces the election made by the Provincial Chapter of Goa (March 11, 1814) of Frei Joaquim das Neves as Prior of Bandel, and it is decided to send a circular to all the Religious (in Bengal) to make them acknowledge him as their legitimate ordinary Prelate.

Frei Manoel da Piedade is also appointed Rector.

They make also public the resolution of the Chapter that "our Rectorate (of Nagori) shall continue the collection of Rs. 1,000 decided on in the past Chapter, on behalf of the house of Goa, the Convent, the College, and the Congregation."

October 6, 1814.—The Very Rev. Father Provincial Immediate, Frei Joaquim de Carvalho, is appointed Commissary Provincial.

May 31, 1815.—The Very Rev. Master Frei Antonio da Assumpção is appointed Visitor of the Mission.

August 3, 1816.—The Very Rev. Father Master Visitor, Frei Antonio da Assumpção, opens and orders to read the *provisão* of his visitation.

December 28, 1816.—The Father Commissary, Frei Joaquim de Carvalho, convokes a meeting and presents a patent from the Very Rev. Father Master Provincial, Frei Manoel de Ave Maria, stating that, on his retiring from Calcutta to Europe, he should appoint the Father Master Prior as Commissary *ad interim* until the arrival of Father Master Provincial, Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, there being a capitular decree to that effect.

Father Master Frei Antonio da Assumpção is appointed Prior.

The Very Rev. Father Frei Joze de S. Vicente becomes Rector.

April 18, 1817.—The Very Rev. Father Master (Provincial) Immediate, Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, is appointed Commissary Provincial.

On the same occasion was read the *provisão* of His Excellency the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Goa, Dom Frei Manoel de S. Gualdino, appointing as his delegate the Most Rev. Father Master Immediate and Commissary Provincial of "this" Mission, Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, for whatever belongs to the said Most Excellent Lord as Metropolitan in the Missions of Bengal, and also for visiting whatsoever Churches of this same Mission.

January 31, 1820.—The Very Rev. Father Master Ex-Provincial, Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, presents a patent from the Vicar Provincial, Frei Diogo do Sacramento, appointing him (Frei Manoel) as Commissary Provincial.

October 1, 1820.—In virtue of an order from the Very Rev. Father Provincial, Frei Diogo do Sacramento, to Father Master Commissary Provincial and Provisor, Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, the latter appoints orally in the pre-

sence of four Religious, as Vicar Prior of Bandel, the Very Rev. Father Frei Joaquim das Neves.

November 20, 1821.—Frei Joaquim das Neves, Vicar Prior of Bandel of 'Hooogulhi,' presents the patent of Vicar Prior of the said Convent, by which the Very Rev. Father Provincial, Frei Diogo do Sacramento, under date of October 30, appoints him as such.

February 5, 1823.—Read the decision of the Plenary Chapter of Goa (November 15, 1822) appointing the Very Rev. Father Frei Antonio da Graça, Preacher and Confessor, as Prior, and the Very Rev. Father Master Frei Antonio da Assumpção as Rector of the Mission of 'S. Nicolô de Tolentino de Nagori.'

On this occasion some important matters were discussed, and we get an inkling of the lamentable condition of most of the mission-stations in Bengal.

"*Item*, on the same occasion, the laws and determinations resulting from the aforesaid Chapter (of Goa) were presented. In it was confirmed the collection from the Mission of S. Nicholas of Tolentino for the expenses of the Convent of Goa, considering that the same reasons which caused its being established continue there (at Goa). And, as new reasons have actually presented themselves in the Mission,

"*First*: the maladministration (*delapidação*) of the said Rectory by the Rev. Father Frei Joze de S. Vicente, during his Rectorship, so that it owes to this convent (of Bandel) for the *mainas* (mahinas: monthly allowances) of his time seven hundred eighty rupees, and the Rectory was unable to contribute to the Religious the *mainas*, which the Convent (of Bandel) supplemented, there being a debt to this Convent up to the present date, in addition to the above said sum, of three thousand, three hundred and sixty rupees, Rs. 3,3601, a total of Rs. 4,140, the amount due by the Rectory to this Convent;

"*Secondly*: the fact that the Churches of the Mission are destitute of all ornaments and furniture, and that, besides, one of them has already fallen down, such as the Church of Jambalcão (6), I mean of Concão (7), and that of Jambalcão, that of Bandel of Chatgão, (8), that of Tesgão (9), that of Cassimbazar (10), where the Parochial Houses are ruinous and uninhabitable, the Vicars living for years past in a rented house away from the Church, that of Usunabath (11), which is almost in the same predicament, and even the Church and houses of Nagari (12):

(6). Jambalacan, a church still existing in the suburbs of Chittagong.

(7). A church within close proximity of the present Catholic Church in the Bandel of Chittagong, which was swept away, present tradition says, by the river.

(8). Chittagong.

(9). Tesgaon, in the suburbs of Dacca.

(10). Calcapore.

(11). Hashnabad.

(12). Near Toomiliah (Dacca).

“ *Thirdly*: the continual protests of the Vicars of many Churches, owing to the want of means of subsistence, on account of the dearness of everything, which is daily increasing, and their having no other means than the poor *mainas*, because of the poverty of the Faithful:

“ This considered, the above-mentioned Most Rev. Master Commissary Provincial asked the undersigned Very Rev. Fathers whether, in view of what has been said, which their Paternities were acquainted with, they were of opinion that (*some words not deciphered*) they should represent to the Most Rev. Master Provincial or to his private *Diffinitorio* the impossibility for the said Rectory to contribute the said collection, the result of that contribution being, not only our discredit and disgrace, but also the want of means to succour the Christianity entrusted to ourselves. And all were of opinion that the said request be made in conformity with the circumstances exposed above.

“ *Item*, the said Most Rev. Father Master Commissary Provincial asked furthermore whether, as he was aware of the mistakes and ignorance of Religious, living far away from this Convent and from Calcutta, in the recitation of the Divine Office, and consequently in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and considering that the Rev. Father Frei Luiz de S. Ritta had till the present provided many Religious, or nearly all, with Calendars, although the Chapter at Goa nominated every three years a Calendarist of the Congregation, who ought to provide, not only the Convents of Goa, but also those outside, for which trouble he was awarded a remuneration, considering also that the Very Rev. Father Luiz de S. Ritta is in the same circumstances, no provision being made (for us) here in Bengal, their Very Rev. Paternities were of opinion that, in imitation of what has been determined at Goa, he should receive here also a remuneration for his labour. All were of opinion that the Convent should pay him annually fifty rupees (Rs. 50) to help him to defray the *daque* (dak, post) expenses.”

May 4, 1823.—Frei Antonio da Guia, Prior.

January 4, 1826.—Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, Frei Antonio da Guia, and Frei Antonio da Assumpção were reappointed respectively Commissary Provincial, Prior, and Rector.

January 13, 1829.—Frei Antonio da Assumpção Rezende, Commissary Provincial; Frei Frutuoso de S. Agostinho, Prior; Frei Antonio da Assumpção Rezende, Rector *ad interim*. The appointment of the Prior's successor was locked up in the safe of the Convent.

January 7, 1832.—Frei Simão da Conceição, Prior.

December 30, 1833.—Frei Jose das Neves, Commissary Provincial in 'this' Mission of 'Bengalla' and of the Choromandel Coast.

December 30, 1833.—*Copy of the Patent of the Most Rev. Father Provincial, in which he nominates the Most Rev. Father Frei Joze das Neves as Commissary of this Mission of Bengalla.*

- “ Frei Joze Ribeiro de Carvalho, called Religious Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine, Provincial of this Congregation of East India.
- “ To all Our Subjects who will see these presents, health, peace, and eternal happiness in Jesus Christ, Who is the true remedy and salvation of us all.
- “ Inasmuch as some Religious of this Our Mission of Bengala represented to us already at Goa inconveniences which they encountered in their recourses, because our authority and that of the Ordinary of this Diocese were delegated to one and the same person, and inasmuch as these representations were now increased on the occasion of our coming to this country, we consider it our duty to give all our attention to a matter so worthy of it, not only because we find weight and force in their reasons, but also because we judge it very just that the Religious, our Subjects, should not meet in these parts, so remote from our ordinary residence, with any hindrance, but should find every facility and ease, when they need spiritual consolation.
- “ Wherefore, attentive to the above, we suppress, and declare null and void, the patent which, in the beginning of our government, we were pleased to direct to the Most Rev. Father Master Provisor, Frei Antonio da Assumpção, in which we delegated to him our authority and jurisdiction in this country, and we appoint for the purpose the Most Rev. Father Frei Joze das Neves, as we find in him all the ability, zeal, and prudence required for well discharging this office and representing our Person.
- “ By this present, therefore, and by the authority given Us by our sacred Constitutions (Part 3, chapter 15, No. 11) we nominate the said Most Rev. Father Frei Joze das Neves, Commissary Provincial of Our Subjects, who actually reside, or will land from whatsoever place, in this our Mission of Bengala and Choromandel Coast, ordering all to show him entire obedience, after our departure from this country, as to our own person, if we resided here, under pain of being considered disobedient and of incurring the penalties which, in such case, our sacred Constitutions fulminate.
- “ However, the abovesaid Most Rev. Father Commissary by us appointed shall have no power to admit to the taking of the habit, or to promote to (holy) Orders, or to let any Religious quit the Congregation. The Very Rev. Father Frei Bartholomeu do Quintal, who acts as Secretary of the Visitation, shall make two copies of this (letter), and shall entrust one of them to the Very Rev. Father Rector Frei Frutuozo de Santo Agostinho, who by means thereof will acquaint all the Religious employed in the neighbourhood of the Rectorate with this our disposition, keeping the other to make it public, after our departure, to the Religious of Calcutta, and he shall entrust this, the original, to the Most Rev. Father Frei das Neves, to whom it shall serve as title or Patent towards representing our person in these parts, after

it has been registered in the book of the registers of this Convent, it being sealed by us with one of the seals of our office and signed by us, and it shall have force as long as it is not revoked by us or one of our successors.

“ Given in this Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel, the 30th of December 1833.

(Signed): “ Fr. Jozc Ribeiro de Carvalho, *Provincial*.”

January 11, 1844.—“ *Copy of the Patent of the Most Excellent and Most Reverend the Lord Bishop-Elect of Meliapor, appointing Father Frei Joao Correia Prior of the Convent and Vicar of Bandel, etc.*

“ Dom Antonio Tristão Vaz Teixeira, Professor of Theology, Knight of the Illustrious Order of Our Lady of the Conception of Villa-Viçosa, Bishop-Elect of Meliapor, of His Most Faithful Majesty's Council, Episcopal Governor of the Diocese of San Thomé of Meliapor, &c., &c., &c.

“ To all who will see this *Provisão* or in any way will get information of it, health and peace in Jesus Christ, the true salvation of all.

“ We make known that, as it belongs to Our Pastoral Office to provide the Christianities committed to our care with able Ministers, who not only may with love and zeal for the honour of God and the salvation of souls administer to them the spiritual food of the holy doctrine of the Gospel, but may firmly defend the Rights of the Royal Patronage of His Most Faithful Majesty in these parts of the British Dominions, by opposing with irresistible force all who should usurp them and transfer them to a foreign authority (13), We, finding in the person of the Most Rev. Father Frei João Correia, Religious of the extinct Order of Our Father St. Augustine, all the qualities requisite for the Ministry, by this present nominate and create the abovesaid Most Rev. Father Frei João Correia, Prior of the Convent of Bandel in Hooguly and Vicar of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary in the same place, owing to the death of our never sufficiently lamented Most Rev. Father Frei Simão da Conceição, and we confer on him all the jurisdiction necessary for exercising freely and licitly the Ministry which we entrust to him, and we recommend that he treat that Christianity with all love and charity, remembering that he has to give to God a most strict account of their souls, at the same time we hope that he will firmly resist the attempts of any foreign authority which should try to alienate *de facto* the Rights which *de jure* appertain to the Portuguese Crown.

“ We order all the Religious scattered in the Mission of Bengala to obey him as their legitimate Superior, and to the whole of the Christianity we ordain, under the order of Holy Obedience and in virtue of the

(13). There is question here of resisting, not any civil authority, but the authority of the Vicars Apostolic, nominated by Propaganda without the *placet* of the Portuguese Crown. The disputes about the Padroado were then at their highest.

Holy Ghost, that they should receive and acknowledge the said Most Rev. Father Frei João Correia as their legitimate Rector, and as such obey him in everything concerning the spiritual welfare of their souls, and he shall have all the fees and emoluments appertaining to him in virtue of this ministry, and he shall swear on the Holy Gospels, that he will both duly fulfil this charge and defend the Rights of His Most Faithful Majesty's *Padroado* (Patronage), which oath will be tendered him by the Most Rev. Vicar of boythoconah. This our *Provizão* shall be in force so long as we do not ordain to the contrary.

“ Given at S. Thome of Meliapor, under our signature and the seal of the Arms of our Chancellery, on the eleventh of January one thousand, eight hundred and forty-four.

“ I, Custodio Pascoal Martins, Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Court, wrote and signed it.

(Signed): Dom Antonio Tristão Vez Teixeira,
Bishop-Elect and Episcopal Governor.

(SEAL) Custodio Pascoal Martins,
Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Court.

“ *Provizão* by which His Excellency is pleased to nominate and create the Most Rev. Father João Correia, Prior of the Convent of Bandel in Hoogholy and Vicar of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the same place as shown above.

“ For Your Excellency's inspection and signature.

“Martins.

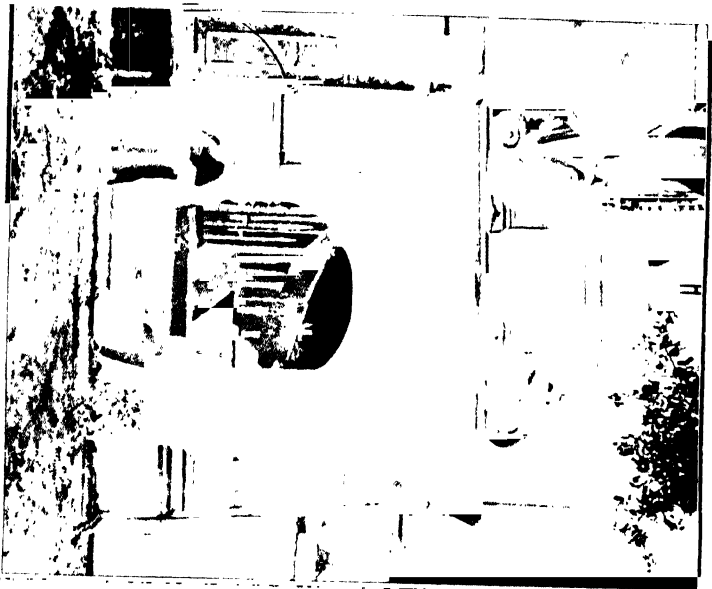
“ Registered at fol. 89v.”

On April 9, 1845, Frei João da Correia (*sic*), Provisor and Vicar General of the Bishop of Meliapor, being in danger of death from cholera morbus, appointed *ad interim*, pending the approval of His Excellency the Bishop-Elect of Meliapor, Frei Joze de Santo Agostinho Gomes. The next day, Frei João da Correia was buried, and Frei Joze de Santo Agostinho Gomes took the oath on the Gospels, and his appointment as the new (and last) Augustinian Prior of Bandel was made public before the Congregation after the burial ceremony.

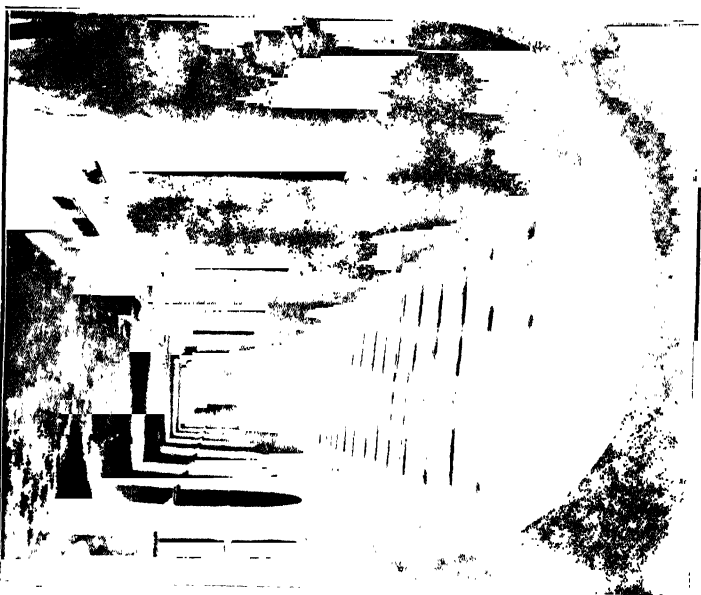
* * * * *

During the intervals of leisure which the study of the registers allowed, I noted a number of changes which had come into being since my week's stay at the Convent in 1912.

A set of wise rules concerning visitors had been drawn up, and printed copies were hanging up in different parts of the Convent. Visitors who know what the Bandel Convent stands for—devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary, graces to ask, and vows to fulfil—require indeed no regulations: but, for many decades past, the place with its vacant cloisters and rooms and its picturesque breezy position along the Hugli, had become associated in the minds of a certain section, even of our own people with the idea of a pleasure resort for the week-end, more than of a place of pilgrimage. These days will, it may be



WESTERN GATE OF THE CONVENT.
(With the Date 1599.)



EASTERN CORRIDOR OF THE CONVENT.
(Showing the former cells of the Augustinian Fathers and the
Prior's room at the end.)

hoped, be over now. The regulations bear the imprimatur of the Bishop of Mylapore. If they are enforced *fortiter ac suaviter*, as indeed they are, they will make of the place, as of old, a religious house, "and not a public inn."

Father Menezes takes an enlightened interest in the antiquities of the old place. After 28 years spent in different missions in Bengal, he had retired to Mylapore, but was prevailed upon to undertake another term of active service as Prior of Bandel. He keeps the place in excellent repair. From nooks and corners, where they lay forgotten, he had brought out a number of devotional or ornamental articles, such as the big chandelier and two smaller ones now hanging in the Church, the silver *ex-votos*, some ivory statuettes, a big ivory crucifix partly disfigured, and the recumbent figure of Our Lord in the Tomb, all of which are to be seen in the vestibule of the sacristy. Later on, in the course of my further travels, I found similar figures of Our Lord in the Tomb at the Churches of Tesgão and Nagori, two of the oldest churches in Bengal. And I could not but remember that in the Church of my own native village, Ramscappelle on the Yzer, there was a similar figure surrounded by the figures of the Apostles and of other holy personages, all of which were destroyed beyond recognition during the war.

Within the sacristy, in a glazed frame, there is now a Persian *farman*, 25 centimeters long by 50 centimeters broad. This is evidently one of the oldest treasures of the Convent. Unfortunately, the date and the contents have not yet been ascertained. The surmise was that there is question in the *farman* of certain privileges granted to the Bandel respecting the salt-trade. I should have liked to take it with me to Calcutta to have the text and the signature deciphered by some competent scholar, but the frame was too bulky for safe removal. The best thing to do would be to remove the *farman* from the frame and have it translated in Calcutta by a reliable Persian scholar, for, as part of the text is damaged, the original would do better than a mere photograph for the purposes of study. A photograph of it should also be taken and published. So little of old Bandel has survived in the shape of *farmans* or other historical material that we cannot be too careful with what is left. I noted that, besides a small patch of gold with red and black lettering, there were two smaller ones, as also five lines of text in black ink, and within the central third of the paper a large black seal (14).

Another important discovery made by Father Menezes is that of an authenticated relic of Our Lady's Veil. The relic, enclosed in a brass case of oval shape encircled with rubies, was in the centre of an old silver cross of artistic workmanship. It was known that the cross contained a relic: but, as the na-

(14). A photograph of the *farman* appears in J. J. A. Campos' "Bandel: History of the Augustinian Convent and of the Church of Our Lady" (Catholic Orphan Press, 1922: p. 45). It is too small to be deciphered. Nothing is said in the text of the book to justify the explanation of the document which is appended to the illustration: "An old Persian document in the Church relating to the Portuguese Salt Monopoly." I was asked not to move in the matter of publishing the *farman* or getting it translated, because some other person had it in hand. But nothing seems to have been done during these last three years to unravel the mysteries of that document.

ture of it was unknown and proof of its authenticity was not forthcoming, the cross was not exposed to public veneration, but was kept in the treasury of the Church. In the beginning of 1919, while handling the cross, Father Menezes remarked that something was loose within the pedestal of the cross. On unfastening the pedestal, a parchment paper in good condition, a document in Latin, attesting the character and genuineness of the relic, came to view. It is dated from Lisbon, the 2nd of February, 1791, and is signed by the Apostolic Nuncio at Lisbon. This venerable piece of antiquity deserves to be placed on record, both in the original Latin text and in the translation made of it by Father Menezes (15).

* * * * *

Carolus
ex Marchionibus
Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia
Sanctissimi
Praelatus
Pontificio solio assistens

Bellisomi
Frescaroli
Archiepiscopus Tyanae
D. N. Papae
domesticus
necnon ejusdem SS. Domini nostri

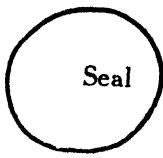
et sedis apostolicae praefatae
atque dominiis cum potestate

Coat of arms
surmounted
by an Arch-
bishop's hat.

in Portugal et Algarbiorum reg nis;
legati a latere nuntius etc., etc.

Universis, et singulis praesentes litteras inspecturis fi(dem) facimus, et attestamur, quod Nos ad maiorem Omnipotentis Dei gloriam, suorumque Sanctorum venerationem recognovimus *particulam de velo B. Mariae Virginis, quam ex locis authenticis extractam reverenter collocavimus in Theca de aurichalco formae ovalis ab anteriore parte crystallo munita bene clausa, et funiculo serico coloris rubri colligata, ac sigillo munita, eamque consignavimus cum facultate apud se retinendi, aliis donandi, in quacumque Ecclesia, Oratorio, aut Capella publica Fidelium venerationi exponendi. In quorum fidem has litteras testimoniales manu nostra subscriptas, nostroque sigillo firmatas per infrascriptum Secretarium nostrum expedire mandavimus. Olisipone in Aedibus nostrae Residentiae, die 2 mensis Februarii anno 1791.*

† C. Archiep: Tyanae N. Ap.



Gratis ubique.

Emmanuel Martins Pelejaõ, Deputs.

Charles Bellisomi, of the Marquises of Frescaroli, by the grace of God and the favour of the Holy See, Archbishop of Tyana, Domestic Prelate of His Holiness Our Lord the Pope, Assistant near

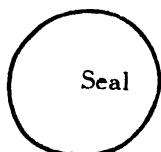
(15). The parts printed in italics in the Latin text are inserted in writing on the printed form. Photographs of the cross and the Latin testimonial appear in Campos (op : cit : pp. 73, 74). The discovery of the document is there ascribed to Mr. G. C. Wolfe (April 19, 1919).

the Pontifical Throne, and, in the realm of Portugal and of the Algarves and their dominions, of His Holiness and the Apostolic See Nuncio with the power of a Legate *a latere*, etc., etc.

To all and everyone that shall read these presents we affirm and attest that, for the greater glory of God Almighty and for the veneration of His Saints, we have examined the particle of the Veil of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that it, being derived from a genuine source, has been placed by us in an oval brass box with crystal face, properly closed, tied with a red silk cord, and bearing our seal, and we have warranted its genuineness by authorizing its being retained, given to others, or exposed for the public veneration of the Faithful in any Church, Oratory, or Chapel. In proof whereof we have ordered this written document signed by us and bearing our seal to be drawn up by the undersigned, our Secretary, the 2nd of February, 1791, at our Residence in Lisbon.

† C. Archbishop of Tyana, Apostolic Nuncio.

(Signed):



Emmanuel Martins Pelejäo, Secretary.

Gratis everywhere.

* * * * *

The seal was struck on the red sealing wax, fastening and pasting together the two sheets of paper, but the impression in relief is now so faint that I found it difficult to make it out. Around a coat of arms it displays the words: "Carolus Bellisomi Archiepisc. (*doubtful up to here*) Tyanen. Nuntius Apostolicus." At the back, the paper bears the endorsement: "B. M. V." (*Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

A photograph of the original document made by Mr. G. C. Wolfe of Simla and a printed copy of the translation are posted up in the corridor, at the door of the vestibule to the sacristy.

At the same place, within a glass case, I noticed a miniature ship, called *Happy Voyage*, "presented by Mr. F. Lee, Nov. 10th, 1915." There used to be a miniature ship in the arms of the Infant Jesus in the niche above the façade of the Church. The making of this new miniature ship was probably prompted by a recollection or the tradition of what used to be.

Among other new features we may note; near the same place, a statue of the Infant Jesus of Prague; above the main altar, an old ivory crucifix on a new ebony cross; in the baptistery, a new white marble font with heavy copper cover and a fine picture of Our Lord's Baptism in the Jordan, these two latter the gift of Mr. D'Rozario; on either side of what popular devotion calls the miraculous statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage, high above the main entrance of the Church, two iron safes, one for intentions, the other for offerings. Near the belfry, there was an old oratory, always closed formerly, which has now again been opened to pilgrims. It contains an old-fashioned

wooden altar surmounted by a statue of Our Lady and the superscription: *Je suis l'Immaculée Conception* (16).

Among innovations contemplated by Father Menezes an important one is to move the statue of Our Lady of the Rosary from the altar in the left aisle to above the main altar, where it must have stood formerly, since the Church is dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary.

In the quadrangle I was not slow in remarking that two inscribed stones have disappeared. Happily I copied them in 1912. (Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, Pt. I, Serial No. 19, pp. 75—78, inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17). I regret, however, the disappearance of the stone recording the name of Leon Sarad, who died at Chinsura on Nov. 5, 1790, both because it was one of the oldest existing inscriptions of the Bandel Church, and because it had two lines in Armenian which my friend Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, who is collecting all the Armenian inscriptions in India, will now miss. Besides, the name Sarad (Sarhad) is an important one for the history of the English in Bengal. All my efforts to trace these two stones either in the quadrangle or in the garden proved unavailing. Father Menezes who still recollected having seen them during his tenure of office, had also made a useless search for them on a former occasion. Probably, the masons may have found them handy while making some repairs. Such is generally the sad end of all inscriptions. Instead, another stone at the grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes now records that the white marble altar there was "presented by James L. Lumsden," while the inscription attesting the erection of the grotto in 1908 by Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Slater, in memory of their daughter Mary Slater, has been shifted and inserted within the grotto, on the left hand side.

Before leaving the quadrangle, I may as well say for the information, if not for the edification, of some imaginative Calcutta ladies, whom I once heard indulging in extravagant fancies about old Bandel, that three *bilimbi* cuttings have taken root and are preparing to take the place of the venerable patriarchs. The supply of *bilimbi* fruits for those highly praised pickles of our Calcutta gourmets is not likely to fail us so soon, therefore. Nor is it correct to say that *bilimbi* trees are exotic and that they grow only at Bandel. Father Menezes told me they grow on the Madras and Goa side (17).

I may state also that the cheese which has made Bandel famous in certain quarters is now made there by only one inhabitant, and he a Muhammadan: but what I cannot believe is that the secret of its making should die out with him. At Dacca, I ate cheese which to me, no connoisseur, it is true, tested as good as 'Bandel cheese.' Besides is the cheese manufactured in our Calcutta *kintals* by the direct descendants of the erstwhile Christian inhabitants of the Bandel of Hugli at all different from Bandel cheese?

(16). For a photograph of it see J. J. A. Campos (op : cit : p. 62).

(17). J. J. A. Campos (op : cit : p. 75) mentions these trees and says they were introduced by the Portuguese from the Moluccas. Garcia da Orta, col. xii, mentions them as *camariz* in Canarese, as *balimba* in Malay. Cf. Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, Vol. I. p. 128.

One day, Father Menezes and myself spent the greater part of the morning in examining a number of old books, missals, rituals, psalters, breviaries, etc., mostly of Portuguese origin, which he had collected in an almirah of one of the guest-rooms. Among them I recognised a certain number of curiosities which I have already described in "*A week at Bandel*," (pp. 57-59). I did not, however, feel inclined to describe any of the new additions. There was also an entire basketful of scraps of printed papers, detached leaves from Portuguese and French books, which threatened to encumber the world as venerable relics of antiquity. "*Cui bono?*" I said, after we had carefully examined every scrap. The confusion was really too great. No one would ever be tempted to put order in that heap of sweepings. So, with many a pang, and much mutual, but silent, reproach at being guilty of the disappearance of these vestiges of the library of former Priors, even we, strict conservatives, condemned them to destruction. We should have acted very differently, surely, had these papers, instead of being Europe-printed, represented the first efforts of printing in India. In that case every leaf would have been treasured up for a place in the Victoria Memorial. Indeed, I was extremely sorry to hear from Father Menezes that he had mislaid, beyond hope of recovery, some portions of a Bengali Grammar and Dictionary printed at Lisbon in 1743, which he had discovered at Bandel, and I was only half consoled when he told me I would find portions of another copy at Nagori, whither I was going shortly, and that in fact they had been very useful to him, years ago, for his first steps in Bengali. The truth is that I did not hear of them at Nagori, a few weeks later: so that, on my return from my Dacca tour, I found I had been right in my anticipation that not one copy of the three earliest type-printed Bengali books published at Lisbon in 1743 had escaped the ravages of time in the old Portuguese Mission stations of Bengal. It is but cold comfort to be able to add that a copy of Frei Manoel da Assumpção's *Compendio dos Misterios da Fee*, a kind of Bengali catechism in Roman characters with the Portuguese translation facing, is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: that Father Guerin of Chandernagor reprinted it, without the Portuguese text, in the Bengali character in 1838, after reducing it to one third of the original matter; that a copy of the Bangala-Portuguese and Portuguese-Bangala Dictionary, preceded by a Compendium of Bangala Grammar, rests in the British Museum: that the Catechism of Christian Doctrine ascribed to Dom Antonio do Rozario, son of the King of Busna (East-Bengal) and also printed at Lisbon in 1743, could perhaps be discovered in Portugal; and that, finally, copies of the three works should still be found in MS. at the Public Library of Evora. (Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Calcutta, Vol. IX, Pt. I, under my article on "*The three first type-printed Bengali Books*").

From my room in the north-east corner of what used to be called, and is probably still called, St. Augustine's Hall, I had many opportunities of watching the changes which even six or seven years are able to effect. The island opposite to the Convent had been lengthening towards the Hugli

Bridge, and it seemed to me that the channel separating the island from the mainland was getting narrower and shallower. As the river is eroding considerably on the eastern or Calcutta side, it is not unlikely that in a few years the island will be part and parcel of the mainland, and then the Convent *ghat*, where 60 years ago the budgerows of our Catholic magnates of Chandernagor, Serampur and Calcutta used to land, will continue to show the river's rate of retrogression towards the right bank. Opposite to my room, on the Calcutta side of the river, a new paper-mill was nearing completion, and more paper-mills and jute-mills were to be erected on both banks to the north of the Convent. An offer had been made to buy up the Hugli Circuit House. If this continues, the whole river front on the Calcutta side will in a few years be covered with factories from Naihati to Kanchrapara.

No, Bandel is no longer the lonely spot, the malaria infected desert, to which it was reduced for more than a century. The Railway buildings at Bandel Junction have been greatly extended, and the natural result of this influx of new settlers is to be seen in the new cemetery between the Railway Station and the Convent. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Convent, however, there are now no Christians. The houses along the sort of street leading up to the Church, evidently a remnant of the old Christian settlement at the Bandel, are now invaded by Hindus and Muhammadans, who are also the tenants and cultivators of the Church lands. The children of the Middle English School in the basement of St. Augustine's Hall, and the students of the Higher English School to be opened in the recently renovated Ornellas building, are all of them non-Christians. Even the alms which, according to pious Christian bequests, are to be doled out at the Convent gate, are now shared by beggars exclusively Hindu and Muhammadan.

By the way, the Middle English School will celebrate its golden jubilee this year (1920), as is shown by the inscription above the entrance: "Bandel Portuguese Mission. St. John's Government aided M. E. School. (*1 line in Bengali*) 10th July 1870."

What edified me once more at Bandel was the number of pilgrims that came every day for their devotions. Most of them would come between two trains, because they were working people, without leisure for more. Some dropped in even as late as 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening and left again. Nor was the printed rule about the evening Rosary a dead letter. Every evening, at 7 p.m., the gong would interrupt my work at the registers, and to the Church we all repaired, the Prior, his guest, and a couple of Christian servants. As in the dimly-lit Church each of us took up his decade, we were reminded of the Augustinian Hermits of old chanting their Vespers. And strangely must our prayer have sounded to the spirits of the many Friars buried right and left, and in front, of the altar of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, for we spoke neither Latin, nor Portuguese, nor even Bengali, but that outlandish tongue of the Conquistadores of the eleventh hour. And, to bring us back forcibly from a heroic past to a prosaic present, there were the two dogs of the monastery who never missed the devotions, so much so that I could not help thinking

how, had they been Christians, they would have set an example of church-going to many who pride themselves on being immeasurably above dumb four-footed creatures.

About the Sã o Paolo garden, where, in 1912 I made some excavations for the site of the old Jesuit 'College' and Church, and for the grave of Bishop Francisco Laines, I learned very little. There were some title-deeds in the *zamindari* books of the Convent, but they contained little about the early history of the garden, and nothing about the Jesuits. I was told that the Bishop of Mylapore, at his last visit in 1919, had visited the garden, had explored it from end to end, plodding painfully over the ploughed-up ground, and had made offers to the present tenant in order to have the old Jesuit site conserved against further dilapidation. In my further travels on the Dacca side, I was reminded more than once of His Lordship's keen interest in matters antiquarian. In the oldest registers of his Churches he had written: "*Archive-se com reverencia.*" (Let them be kept with reverence in the Archives).

Among the souvenirs which I carried away from Bandel I may mention: "*Devotions/ to/ Our Lady of Happy Voyage/ Bandel./ Printed at the Catholic Orphan Press,/ Calcutta/ 1919./ pp. 1-11: pp. 1-22.*" It contains *entre autres choses* Father A. Van de Mergel's hymn to Our Lady of Bandel (pp. 10-11).

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

Appendix.

THE SAO PAOLO GARDEN.

Translation of a patta mentioning the Sã o Paolo garden.

This *patta* is given to Pitambar Pain, inhabiting Gutia Bazar, situated in Aisha Pargana, District Hugli, pertaining to the land belonging to the Bandel Church, and held by the former tenants Jagu Chaugar and Srimati Bindu Dasi (wife of the late Pitambar Chaugar) and generally called by the name of Shyam Pal's Church land.

Since you have bought and taken possession of the said Pal's land by a *Kabala* (a contract of bargain and sale) on the 31st Baisak, 1221 B. S., and since you have applied for a *patta* in order to replace the names of the old tenants by your name, and since the former or old tenants have renounced every claim to the said land, your application is granted. I give you the *patta* for about 25 bighas of land with the public road on the east, Mohan Chaugar's

land on the south, your garden on the north, and west of a lane and the boundaries of Keota, the lands of Shekh Zugfur Darji. You shall have to pay an annual tax or rent of Rs. 25 regularly, and you will fix the boundaries of the land and make the garden therein. If you fail to pay the annual rent or tax in time, you will have to pay interest for dues in arrears. You shall not advance in any case any plea or excuse for non-payment and must take receipt for any money that you will pay us. You shall not be required to pay us the tax or any money without a receipt from us for the same, and you must demand a receipt whenever money is paid by you, for no excuse for non-payment, on the plea of not having got a receipt for money paid, will be of any avail afterwards. You may enjoy for your use the fruits of the trees that we already have in the said land, but you are on no account to cut down or sell any of the trees. If any of the trees dies naturally, you must inform us and we shall dispose of the tree as we like, and you must not object.

With these terms and conditions we give you the *patta* in exchange for a *kabuliyat* from you, and you may continue to possess the land with your sons and grand-sons, etc., in peace and prosperity. 3rd Baisak, 1273 B. S. (15th April 1866).

Time for paying the tax or rent :—

Month of Sravan	...	...	Rs. 6/-.
Month of Aswin	...	...	Rs. 6/-.
Month of Pous	...	...	Rs. 6/-.
Month of Chaitra	...	...	Rs. 7/-.
Total			Rs. 25/-.

List of trees that we already possess :—

Mango trees	43.	Jack-fruit trees	6.
Coconut trees	9.	Katbael trees	2.
Jambul trees	1.	Lemon trees	6.

Total: 67 trees.

The document is registered on the 1st Jyaistha, 1272 B. S.—A second Kabala of the same in the same year (18).

(18). Translated from the Bengali by the clerk in charge of the zamindari books of the Convent (January, 1920). The São Paulo garden, was formerly occupied by the Jesuits, who were otherwise known in India as the Fathers of St. Paul, from their college of São Paulo at Goa. São Paulo has become Shyam Pal in Bengali.

Historical Records in the Mymensingh Collectorate.

IN the foreword to my little book, "The Sannyasis in Mymensingh," the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., has very aptly stated that "Much is being heard of the treasures brought to light by the opening of the tomb of Tutenkhamen. To a student of history, there is equal treasure still hidden in the record-rooms of other British districts in Bengal such as Dacca, Midnapur, Moorshedabad and Burdwan." These led me to think of recounting my humble experience as a casual investigator of the district records of Mymensingh. I may thereby be able to indicate briefly to other students, who may snatch a few hours of leisure "to delve into the mysteries of the record-rooms of other districts," the various materials available in a District record-room, and offer suggestions for their utilisation.

British rule in the country is now over 250 years old and the records of the British period though furnishing materials of great historical value are still in great obscurity. Mymensingh was created as a separate Collectorate in 1786, but this was merely for the purpose of collection of revenue, the district virtually remaining under the Chief of Dacca. By the plan of re-arrangement of Collectorates introduced by Sir John Shore, Mymensingh was formed into a separate Collectorate and Mr. W. Wroughton, its first Collector, took over charge on 9th May 1787. The correspondence of the district, which is the main historical record of the British period, dates from this period. The materials that are to be found in the correspondence are of varied nature and deal with nearly every possible subject of public interest. Not only is information furnished which is of great value on the current events of the period to which it relates but a good deal of light is also thrown on events of earlier periods.

In a letter dated the 10th August 1787, the Board of Revenue asked the Collector for information regarding the revenue to be assessed on each estate and the persons with whom settlement is to be made expressing "their contemplation to form a general settlement of the country for a term of years." This was the preliminary to the decennial settlement and the reply of the Collector dated the 12th February 1788 is an important document to a student of history. In it not only is the history of the estates and the proprietors dealt with in interesting detail, but in tracing the variations of land revenue of every estate "from the first settlement by Mr. Sykes in 1767 down to 1787 for a period of 20 years," the Collector also gives as far as possible a history of past settlements of each estate from the time of Jafar Ali Khan. We catch moreover a glimpse of the corrupt practices of "His Excellency Mahammad Reza Cawn" who considerably reduced the revenues of several estates "with,

however, additions of his own Nazarana." Other correspondence of the period discusses the Khas management of defaulting estates by Government through Sazewals or Managers, the private lands of proprietors, the difference in values between the numerous current coins of the period, and a variety of other diverse subjects.

The correspondence, is concerned principally with Revenue matters but important side-lights are thrown on other subjects. The unsettled and troublous state of the period gave rise to disturbances from various quarters, namely, the nomadic plundering Fakirs, the usurious Sannyasis, the rebellious Burkundazes of Sherpur, and the superstitious and fanatical Garos and other aboriginal tribes under leaders not unlike the Mad Mullah of the present day. These events are duly recorded. The evolution of the present police system after the abolition of the Zemindari police, and the replacement by Pargana Sepoys of the detachments of Frontier guards are also related. We also find therein the current market rates of various produces, the wages of artizans, labourers etc., the salaries of Government officials from Collectors to 'Writers,' the cost for erection of buildings and even the prices of furniture and wearing apparel of the period. No less important are the histories of the introduction of new crops such as potato which was first planted in the Collector's garden in 1802. We may read likewise of the abolition of the cloth factories of the East India Company, the sites of which came under the management of the Collector at about the same time, the lands attached to them—known as Malboos Khas or Malmal Khas after the famous muslin woven there—being subsequently permanently settled in 1815.

Regarding events of an earlier period, we have information upon such important subjects as the Nawarah Mehals—originally 'revenue assigned for the upkeep of the State Flotilla'—which were reduced in the Dacca Province from Rs. 7,00,000 to Rs. 25,000 in 1772 by the Committee of Circuit. Among interesting matters peculiar to the district we get mention of the Topekhanas lands in Sherpur for the maintainance of the Mahammadan artillery attached to Cooch Behar, and of the Kote Kappas lands in Susung and Sherpur where the Garos brought "their goods consisting of cotton, elephant's teeth, Deer musk, a kind of sattin etc. which they bartered for dogs, cats, liquor and salt."

While the correspondence mainly furnishes materials for the history of the British period, the Sanads and grants of the Pre-British period possess a special importance. The Decennial settlement of revenue-paying estates was made with the Zemindars, Choudhuries and landlords in actual possession of their lands and scrutiny of their titles was not required: hence the Sanads or other documents establishing their titles were not called for or lodged. Besides, these Sanads, being for temporary periods and creating no permanent rights, have not been jealously preserved in the same manner as the Sanads of revenue-free estates which created permanent rights and conferred absolute titles upon the grantees. Regulations XIX and XXXVII of 1793 required the holders of revenue-fee lands to furnish certain details regarding their lands for the preparation of registers, and they were also asked to produce such grants

whenever available. These Sanads or grants yield very important material from a historical stand-point which can be utilised in various ways in allocation of dates, of jurisdiction and extent of estates and in tracing the families of grantors and grantees, as for example, the former Mahammadan Zemindars of Pukhuria Pargana whose history is now lost in oblivion. They show also how once populous villages, such as Madhupur and its adjoining villages where the Sannyasis held a large number of rent-free lands, have been reduced to jungle and waste. The Sanads also trace the dates on which certain families settled in the district on receiving rent-free lands. A student thoroughly conversant with the history of the district, their former revenue divisions and their notable families can utilise them with results of substantial value.

Other important materials for history are the estate records. The documents relating to each estate are arranged in one bundle and a mass of historical matter is available from these papers. The records of an estate begin generally with the decennial settlement when *Hakikat* or *Stith Jama* papers giving details of revenue assessment of each estate were furnished for the purpose of that settlement. The nomenclature of the estates given in these papers furnishes a clue to the earlier revenue divisions or Chaklas and Circars to which they appertained, and we are thus enabled to assign them to the revenue divisions of Akbar and of a later period. These papers also show the impositions under various denominations exacted from Zemindars Talukdars and raiyats. Besides these there are a mass of papers in these estate bundles such as petitions, proceedings and prayers for mutation or separation which throw an important light on the previous history of the estate, and their former owners. A minute study of these papers is required to sift documents of real historical value from mere unimportant papers.

The Resumption proceedings instituted between 1835 to 1848, and latterly after the Diara survey, although kept in estate bundles, require separate mention because of their great historical value: During these proceedings the Zemindars and landlords produced documents and sanads to substantiate their claims to hold lands brought under these proceedings free of assessment. Many of these are valuable. An instance in point is the Sanad of the Emperor of Delhi dated 1694 granting 970 Bighas of cultivable waste lands in Tappa Kurikhai within Pargana Nasaratshahi (now under Pargana Baradakhat) to one Muhammad Ennus and his followers for their subsistence. Similarly we find a reference, in Resumption proceedings, to the Emdad Badshahi Lakherajas in Pargana Hajradi granted by Emperor Jahangir, to the ancestor of the Dewan family of Jangalbari—a descendent of Isa Khan Masnadali.

Another point may be stated in this connection. The jurisdiction of the district has been subjected to constant and various changes since the establishment of the Collectorate. During the early British period as the extent of a Collectorate was based on the amount of collection, the jurisdiction of Mymensingh extended as far as Bhulluah—the present district of Noakhali—in order to make up a total of 15 Lacs of revenue. Subsequently owing to difficulty of administration connected with

the subjugation of the Sannyasis, the seat of the Collector had to be shifted within the district and his jurisdiction was naturally made compact and manageable. This led to constant changes in jurisdiction and consequent transfers of records and papers relating to the portions transferred. Bhulluah was transferred to Tipperah in 1790, and this made me curious to search for Mymensingh papers amongst the old records of the Noakhali Collectorate. Amongst them was found a Jamawasil Baki paper showing an account of demand collection and balances of 1787, which throws light on the naming of the district as Mymensingh.

I have outlined very briefly the main items of materials from which the history of the district can be collected from the records of the Collectorate. Besides these, there are the mass of registers and other records of miscellaneous cases and proceedings from which important knowledge can be gained by careful and patient study.

The work of the student in a Record-room should merely be the spade-work of the pioneer without any attempt at deductions or generalisations which without a comprehensive study of the history of Bengal as a whole are sure to be misleading. He should content himself with confining his labours to the collection of materials for the future historian. I cannot at this moment refrain from quoting the valuable advice of an eminent authority (1) on the revenue history of Bengal. "The information that can be gathered from a single district is apt at times to mislead; specific examples in a specific area may not be sufficient to explain the meaning of broad facts and policies; but it does afford a set of examples which will be of great value for comparison and co-ordination with those culled from the Record-rooms of other districts." There is a bountiful historical harvest to be gathered from district Record-rooms and few will fail to share in the feeling expressed by Mr. Ascoli that it "brings a pang of regret at the thought that so little use has hitherto been made of the mass of important materials that lies hidden away in the Record-rooms of Bengal district."

JAMINI MOHAN GHOSH.

(1). Mr. F. D. Ascoli, M.A., I.C.S., in his introduction to "Select Chapters on Mymensingh."

The "James and Mary".

EVERY griffin who makes the journey from London to Calcutta by sea, is told of the "James and Mary." From the moment that the pilot and leadsman clamber aboard at the Sandheads, these three words symbolize the risks of the tricky and treacherous river journey of eighty-two miles which remains to be accomplished. Below Fulta—the "despicable village," some thirty miles down the river, where Roger Drake and his fellow refugees awaited the coming of Clive and Watson after the capture of Fort William by Seraj-ud-dowla in 1756—the Damodar enters the Hooghly at right angles and creates a double concave: and the reach between this point and the junction of the Rupnarayan, five miles lower down, has long been popularly known as the "James and Mary." The name, as we shall learn presently on the best authority, does not appear on any of the modern official charts of the river: but it is clearly given in John Thornton's "New and Correct Chart shewing the Braces with the Sand Shoals Depth of Water and Anchorage from Point Palmiras to Hughly in the Bay of Bengal" which is appended to the 1703 edition of the "English Pilot" (1).

The reach has two passages on either side of a central shoal—one created by the flood tide along the right bank and called the Western Gut, and the other, or Eastern Gut, forming the ebb tide channel along the left bank. The Western Gut was at one time available as an alternative channel which opened when the Eastern Gut shoaled seriously: but of recent years the bar at its upper end has blocked it altogether to deep navigation. The route therefore lies through the Eastern Gut. At the lower end of the reach the river takes an abrupt turn of about eighty or ninety degrees, and the Rupnarain also enters at this point: with the result that a bar is seasonably developed. Another bar is also periodically formed where the Eastern and Western Guts issue into the Ninan Channel. Below the junction with the Rupnarayan, the Hooghly becomes normal and provides a deep channel into the estuary (2).

In olden days the dread inspired by the "James and Mary" was very real. It must be remembered that charts were few and not too accurate: the information now given by the River Survey Department was not available to pilots, and the day of the steam tug had not arrived. "The navigation of the

(1) This map forms one of the illustrations to the third volume of Sir Henry Yule's edition of Hedges' Diary (Hakluyt Society, 1889). The shoal is also mentioned by name in the record of a survey of the river made in 1748 (Long's Selections, p. 10).

(2) See "The Calcutta Port Trust: a Brief History of Fifty Years' Work, 1870-1920" by Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams, the present Chairman of the Trust (Calcutta 1920): from which these details are taken.

river was a constant struggle of human skill against the vagaries of nature." An outward bound ship might drop down from Kidderpore to Diamond Harbour in seven days or less during the freshets, but to come up the river was another matter—and for this three weeks was no excessive allowance (3). The ships which lay off Fort William were "country ships" which were not permitted ordinarily to go beyond the Cape, and were of shallower draught than the East Indiamen which would not venture above Diamond Harbour, or about 41 miles below Fort William; and the usual anchorage for the larger vessels was off Kedgerree which lies some 27 miles further down, on the opposite bank. Kedgerree is now a days a small village and police station, but up to the year 1824 it was quite a populous town. The river has, however, washed away all traces of the taverns at which both incoming and outgoing travellers were accustomed to break their journey: and little is now left but a deserted cemetery with its pathetic memorials.

From this point passengers were left to make their own way up or down; as the case might be. The more adventurous would ride or take a palanquin: but the most usual conveyance was a budgerow. It was, however, not considered safe for budgerows to go lower down than Diamond Harbour, and the last twenty miles and more were traversed in a pinnace. When Hastings saw his wife off in the *Atlas* Indiaman (758 tons, Capt. Allen Cooper) in January 1784 he wrote to her from Culpee that he had been "three tides making this place" where he met his budgerow: and in a later letter (on January 31) he speaks of "passing from the Ship to the Pinnace," indicating thereby that he was sailing from Kedgerree to Culpee (seven miles below Diamond Harbour) in the latter vessel. Again, the Honourable Mr. Justice Hyde has told us, in an entry in his note book, which is dated Tuesday, February 1, 1785, that "the Governor-General [Warren Hastings] goes on board his boat from the Powder Mills [some eight miles below the city] at four o'clock in the afternoon this day" and intends "to send from the ship when the ship was got as far as the pilot attended the ship, a resignation by deed or writing (4)." This was quite in accordance with the practice, which permitted Bengal Civilians to date their appointments from the time of picking up the pilot at the Sandheads.

When William Hickey arrived in Bengal in 1777, his ship, the *Seahorse* (676 tons, Capt. David Arthur) took a pilot on board in Balasore roads on October 30 and anchored off Saugor on November 1. Hickey and Col. Watson

(3) *op. cit.*

(4) Hastings went home in the *Berrington* (755 tons, Capt. John Johnston) which arrived in the Downs on June 18, 1785. Hickey (*Memoirs* Vol. III, p. 262) says that he "embarked in Capt. Cotton's ship." There were certainly two commanders of the name of Cotton in the Company's service about that time—Capt. John Cotton of the *Hawke* (723 tons) and Capt. Joseph Cotton of the *Royal Charlotte* (758 tons). But the former made his last voyage as commander on June 16, 1779, when he took the *Hawke* to Bombay, returning on February 8, 1781: and the latter who was afterwards a Director of the Company from 1795 to 1823, did not go to sea after October 24, 1782, when he brought the *Royal Charlotte* home after a voyage to St. Helena and Bombay.

and four others engaged a *paunceway* (5) "rowed by six black fellows" to take them up to Calcutta. They started at two in the afternoon and reached Culpee "where the Indiamen and other ships of heavy burthen lay" at six o'clock. After refreshing themselves at "a poor, shabby house called a tavern," they re-embarked at ten o'clock the next morning and after another halt for the night at Woolburreah (Oolooberia) came in sight of Garden Reach at day break on the morning of the third day. Similarly, when Hickey returned to Europe in April, 1779, "Mr. Lacam offered me the use of a very commodious yacht of his to convey me to the *Nassau* then laying at the Barrabulla (6)" and "Mr. Lacam being thoroughly acquainted with that difficult and dangerous channel, I thought it prudent to accept his offer." The journey down took five days. At five in the morning of April 18, the sloop got under way "with a strong gale from the South, which was in our teeth." That evening the anchor was dropped off Budge-Budge. On the 19th it blew hard, but the vessel managed to work down to Kedgerree where it waited for the ebb-tide. It was not until the 22nd, "after a boisterous and very unpleasant passage," that Hickey and his friend Captain Bentley got on board the *Nassau* which was lying eight miles from the nearest land "in a wild and open sea, surrounded by sands over which the ship broke tremendously in every direction." On the 24th, 25th and 26th the wind blew so hard that the pilot did not dare to move the ship, although it was expected that the cables would part. When a start was made eventually on the 29th the ship "worked down a narrow channel, about eight miles": and the pilot did not leave the vessel until May 1, or a fortnight after Hickey had left Calcutta.

The same delays awaited Francis when he turned his back upon Bengal. He found, upon going on board the *Fox* "at the Baribulla," on December 6, 1780, that Captain Blackburn was unprepared to receive him and he was obliged to return to "Ingellee," the modern Hijli at the mouth of the Rasulpur river, where he "remained loitering" for five days: and when the *Fox* did eventually weigh anchor on December 11, it took her four more days to get out to sea.

By such discomforts were the terrors of the "James and Mary" circumvented. The fact is, that sailing ships, which were completely at the mercy of wind and stream, experienced as a rule the greatest difficulty in reaching Diamond Harbour at all: and were in no mood for more. Thomas Twining who came out in the *Ponsborne* (804 tons, Capt. James Thomas) in 1792 tells us ("*Travels in India a Hundred years ago*") that the voyage from the Downs took four and a half months to accomplish, and says that the most dangerous

(5) "A very characteristic and interesting vessel, large and broad-shaped like a snuffer-dish: a deck fore and aft, and the middle covered with a roof of palm branches." Heber (edition 1844, Vol. I, p. 21).

(6) The Barrabulla sands:—These are not shown on the modern Survey Map. But John Ritchie's map of 1770 places them in lat. 21' 40" between Saugor Island and the western shore. They are also marked on Thornton's chart of the Bay of Bengal attached to the 1703 edition of the "*Bengal Pilot*." The *Nassau* was commanded by Capt. Arthur Gore and was a vessel of 723 tons burthen.

part consisted in "making" the estuary of the Hooghly, which is obstructed and rendered extremely intricate by numerous sands and shoals which run a considerable distance into the sea." To add to their troubles, the pilot ship was not cruising off Point Palmyras, as she should have been. Night had fallen when at last her lights were sighted: and the captain relieved his feelings by swearing vigorously at the pilot "with his biggest trumpet." From that point it took four days to reach Diamond Harbour: and the "Braces" and the "French flats" had to be negotiated. The end of the journey came on March 17, 1793, "after escaping many dangers."

As time goes on, other expedients are adopted. In 1816 we hear of an alternative route by road to Diamond Harbour. On January 15 the Countess of Loudoun and Moira embarked at the Powder Mills in the *Sonamookhee* for conveyance of Saugor. Her husband, the Governor-General (better known to a later age as the Marquess of Hastings) accompanied her to Diamond Harbour, and returned to the Presidency on January 17. The journey was made by land, "relays of horses having been posted at convenient distances along the new road." In October 1823 we find mention in "John Bull" of a steam vessel, the *Diana*, which picks up passengers at Culpee at ten o'clock in the morning, and "reaches town" at five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. "Ordinary boats, with sufficient accommodation for ladies, would have taken from five days to a week to perform what the *Diana* has done in seven hours."

Nowadays, liners of 10,000 tons, and vessels drawing 80 feet of water, come safely up the river to Calcutta. The "James and Mary" has lost much of its terrors: but the bar continues to be subject at certain times to very sudden deterioration and remains an important factor in the navigation of the river. From the following note which Mr. R. O'Brien, River Surveyor, has been good enough to prepare, at the request of Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams, the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust, it will be seen that, but for the ceaseless work done by the suction dredgers, the effect upon shipping would still be serious.

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NOTE BY MR. R. O'BRIEN, RIVER SURVEYOR.

Most people who have heard of the River Hooghly or been up or down it in a vessel know that the greatest danger to shipping on it is called the "James and Mary," but the majority are vague as to what constitutes the danger, or its precise locality. The general impression appears to be, even among seamen, that the name applies to a whole reach of the river. This lack of knowledge can be ascribed to the fact that the name "James and Mary" does not appear on any of the official charts of the river and is never used by the Bengal Pilots and others who earn their living on the river.

The name originated from a ship called the "Royal James and Mary" which, while upward bound to Calcutta on the 24th September, 1694, grounded on the Mukraputty Sand, and foundered. If used at all, the name should therefore be applied only to the sand or shoal on which the vessel was lost.

The Mukraputty Sand is a mid river shoal lying between the alternative channels known as the Eastern and Western Guts, and is situated off Hooghly Point which is 34 nautic miles by river from Fort William. The Eastern Gut was for many years, at certain seasons, the controlling (that is to say, the shoalest) bar on the Hooghly and therefore the vicinity of Hooghly Point furnishes both a danger and an obstacle to shipping, the danger being the Mukraputty or "James and Mary" shoal and the Eastern Gut Bar the obstacle.

The danger of the Mukraputty Sand is resultant on its close proximity to the Eastern Gut Bar, inasmuch as the set of the flood tide current is on to the Sand and at right angles to the direction of the tracks across the Bar, and the shoal itself is composed of quicksand, which, in the days of ships with sharp keels, was invariably fatal to the vessel that grounded on it. The danger is, for all practical purposes, confined to vessels crossing the Eastern Gut Bar on the flood tide.

A study of a chart of the river will show that the flood current following the direction imposed on by the banks, sets up the Reach below Hooghly Point almost due West across the Eastern Gut Tracks into the mouth of the Rupnarain River and up the Western Gut on the right bank of the river. The sharp projection of Hooghly Points shuts it off from the left bank and causes an area of slack or still water or, under certain conditions, a reverse or eddy current. The deep channel maintained by the scour of the ebb current in this locality lies along the left bank of the river and the Eastern Gut Bar connects it with the deep channel on the right bank of the river, with the mean direction of the tracks across the bar about N.-E. by S.-W. The Upper portion of the Eastern Gut lies within the area of the slack water.

A vessel upward bound on the flood tide leaving the deep channel in Hooghly Bight to cross the Eastern Gut Bar has to effect an alteration in her course of over 90° and then has the flood current running at right angles to her course carrying her on to the Mukraputty Sand which lies under her lee. At the critical point where the flood current ceases and the slack water begins, the channel is very narrow and, to add to the difficulty, the moment the vessel's bow enters the slack water the flood current, pushing on the after part of her, tends to swing her stern to the West and her bow to the East and if this 'sheer' is not averted her impetus carries her on to the beach.

This danger to navigation remains unchanged in character since the "James and Mary" was lost. It has been lessened in some degree by the introduction of mechanical propulsion for vessels, as it is obvious that the faster a vessel moves, the shorter the distance she is swept by a current at right angles to her course. Again, whereas, in the days of sailing ships or slow steamers, vessels were compelled to cross the Eastern Gut as early as possible on the flood tide, so that the favouring current would serve them as far as Calcutta, fast steamers can afford to wait until the maximum strength of the current has passed.

The great increase in the length and draft of vessels, which obviously add to the difficulties of navigation, has been largely counter-balanced by the deepening and widening of the channel due to the operations of dredgers, by more accurate surveys and by more frequent publication of charts of the locality. But crossing the Eastern Gut, or as it is sometimes expressed, rounding Hooghly Point, on the flood tide, still remains a dangerous manoeuvre calling for a very high order of skill and nerve on the part of the Pilot.

The last vessel to be lost on the Sand was the S.S. "Sanctoria" on March 21, 1919.

As an obstacle, or cause of delay to shipping, the difficulties of the Eastern Gut Bar have been practically removed since the introduction in 1907 of powerful suction dredgers. Prior to that year the Eastern Gut was, for roughly six months in each year, the governing Bar on the river. In 1854 the available depth on the Bar fell as low as 2 feet and as recently as 1896 it was 6 feet. To-day with three large suction dredgers in commission it is possible, in spite of the fact that the deteriorative influences are as powerful as ever, to maintain a sufficient depth on the Eastern Gut to ensure that no vessel of the type at present trading to Calcutta will be delayed by it.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

Mr. O'Brien has indicated, in a single sentence, the reason why the "James and Mary" shoal is known by that name. The account of the tragedy was conveyed to the Court of Directors in a letter "from Chuttanuttee" of December 19, 1694. The "Royal James and Mary" arrived from Sumatra in August 1694 with "a cargo of 286 behars and 415 lbs of pepper, and redwood 268 candy 15 maunds" (7) which she took in at Madras: and "coming up the river Hooghly on September 24, 1694, she fell on a bank on this side Tumbolie Point, (8) and was unfortunately lost, being immediately overset and broke her back, with the loss of four or five men's lives."

This is fairly explicit: but it is due to Sir George Birdwood that the doubt which once existed as to the origin of the name has been cleared up. A lively controversy once raged over the point: and it has been amusingly summarized in the following article which appeared in the *Statesman* of March 18 last; and which we are courteously permitted to reproduce:—

"In the early eighties several pilots came forward to challenge the theory till then very generally held that the "James and Mary" sands were

(7) *Behar* or *behar* is a weight used in large trading transactions which varied considerably in different localities. In the Indian islands (Moluccas) it was equal to 3 peculs or 400 lb. avoirdupois. *Candy* is a weight used in Southern India which may be stated roughly as 500 lbs., or equivalent to 20 maunds. Grose (1760) gives the Bombay candy = 560 lbs., the Surat = 746 2/3, the Anjengo = 560, the Carwar = 575, and the Coromandel = 500.—*Hobson Jobson*.

(8) Tumbolie Point.—Now known as Mornington Point. Tumbolie is the modern Tumlook. Cf. Hedges' Diary, January 2, 1685.—"We fell down below Tumbolie River": "and the following extract from the journal of the Council of Fort St. George on tour in 1679 (quoted in Notes and Extracts from the Government Records of Fort St. George, 1670-1681: published at Madras in 1871-3: Part II, p. 69); "Before day break overtook the Ganges at Barnagur, met the *Arrivall* 7 days out from Ballasore, and at night passed the *Lily* at Tumbolie,"

so called after a ship that had been lost there. It was said that there was absolutely no report of such a ship-wreck either in the official records of the Port of Calcutta, or in any newspaper or book of history. One of the best known senior pilots of those days devoted much of his leisure to a search in the libraries and newspaper offices for the missing "James and Mary" and he finally announced to the rest of his service that he gone back as far as the year 1700, and no such ship was mentioned anywhere. This seemed to be fairly conclusive, but Hooghly pilots are known to be an obstinate race of men, and many refused to be convinced, basing their opinion, first on the tradition of the service, which dates to a quarter of a century before 1700, and, again, on the difficulty of finding a reason for the name of the "James and Mary" shoal except on the supposition that a ship so named was lost there. The general public, however, were not interested in the discussion, and it might have remained confined to the pilot brig for one or two violent years and then died down, but for the fact that no less a person than Sir Edwin Arnold suddenly entered the fray. That distinguished author, in a letter in the 'Daily Telegraph' not only insisted that there never was a "James and Mary" but provided, what the pilots who agreed with him had never attempted, philological ingenuity in accounting for the name. The shoal, as every one knows, is formed at a spot where the waters of the Rupnarain merge into those of the Hooghly. Sir Edwin Arnold declared that in Hindustani such a spot is known as "Jalmari" which he picturesquely translated as "the striking of the waters." He left it to be implied that pilots, as a rule, not being orientalists would, after picking up the word from local villagers, gradually distort it into something which had a more English sound. The controversy now took another turn. Pilots may not be Orientalists, but there were other Orientalists in the eighties besides Sir Edwin Arnold. Several of them came forward to deny that "Jalmari" meant "the striking of the water," but not all of them were agreed as to what it did mean. Some said it meant "dead water," others, "the place where fishing nets are thrown." In any case, the conclusion the public seems to have come to was that as all the three meanings of the word were applicable to the shoal, merely to denounce Sir Edwin Arnold was not to put an end to the controversy. Indeed all that seemed finally to come out of the letters which then appeared in the Press was, that the "James and Mary" myth had at any rate now been finally dispelled. But it was not. The pilots who believed the story produced a local philologist of their own who said that so far from English sailors having corrupted a Hindustani word, it was the other way about. He pointed out that in many Eastern tongues the labials "l" and "m" are interchangeable, so that "Jam" might be very easily become "Ja"

to the villagers on the Hooghly and to lascars on board ship. To such people the transition from "James and Mary" to "Jalmari" would be perfectly natural. Further, it was added that if "Jalmari" was a Hindustani term for a natural feature, corrupted by pilots without a soul for the beauties of Eastern tongues why were there not more "Jalmaris" up and down the Hooghly and other rivers? There was something in this argument and the controversy was raging more furiously than ever, when Sir George Birdwood, in the closing years of the century, put an end to it for ever. With the assistance of Sir George Forrest, Director of Records, he unearthed from the India Office the story of the wreck of the "*Royall James and Mary*." When Sir George Birdwood announced his discovery Sir Edwin Arnold remained silent but there was a great deal of laughter amongst the people who had taken part in the controversy on the one side or the other."

The fortune of war was against Sir Edwin Arnold: but he could, if he had chosen, have cited at least one authentic illustration from the river itself in support of his proposition that "James and Mary" was a distortion of "Jalmari." Melancholy Point, on the right bank of the river, at the bottom of Sankrail Bight and about seven and three-quarter miles from Fort William, is nothing but a corruption of Munikhali Point, and the adjoining village is shown as Morneekpore in the 1703 chart. An equally good instance can be found higher up the river. "Devil's Reach," a little beyond Pulta and about fifteen miles from Calcutta, and "Divells Lump" which may be seen in the 1703 chart above "Barnagull," are so called from the *dewals*, or temples, which fringe the waterside (9).

H. E. A. C.

(9) There are numbers of these distortions to be found in *Hobson Jobson* and elsewhere: Sir Roger Dowler for Seraj-ud-dowla, Sow Roger for Shahu Raja (the grandson of Sivaji) Savages (Sivajis) for the Mahratta pirates who once infested the West Coast, Bounceloe for the Bhonsla Rajah of Nagpur, Isle O'Bats for Allahabad (Illahabad), Henry Kenry for Oonari and Khundari, the two islands off the mouth of Bombay Harbour, consumer (with a spice of intent) for Khansama, molly and dolly for Mali and Dali, and finally Hobson Jobson itself, for "Ya Hasan! Ya Husain!" the cries at the Mohurrum. *Per contra*, we have the immortal attempt of Sir William Hunter to transliterate Hookeytollah—an obscure spot which owed its name to a certain "Hookey" Walker—into Hukitala.

“Pott’s” Folly at Culpee.

IT will be remembered by those who have read the article entitled “Sir Joshua’s Model” in the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV. pp. 107—113) that Emily Warren, the original of Reynolds’ “Thais,” who “afterwards went to Bengal with Pott, son to the Surgeon,” died off Culpee in May or June 1782 on board the country ship which was conveying her and her admirer up the river to Calcutta.

Pott, we learn from his friend William Hickey (Memoirs Vol. III. pp. 137—140) employed “Mr. Tiretta, the Italian Architect” to build “a beautiful Column, apparently of stone” at Culpee “among herds of tigers” because “off that wild jungly place she breathed her last,” and paid no less than a thousand pounds for it. “I was informed” says Hickey, that “the seafaring people had christened it ‘Fott’s Folly,’ though it ultimately proved of public utility, being of considerable advantage to the pilots when bringing in their ships from sea, from its being a conspicuous landmark when no other object was so in blowing weather.”

Mr. Ramesh Chandra Datta, the Sub-divisional Officer of Diamond Harbour, of whom enquiry was made, was good enough to instruct his Circle Officer Baboo Harendra Kumar Ghose to visit Culpee and report. There is, it transpires, a masonry column still in existence at Culpee, which bears the appearance of a Hindu Temple but in the form of a solid mass. It is in good preservation except that the top has been struck by lightning and broken off. The present height is 35 feet. The base covers 16 feet, and this size continues to a height of 14 feet. No inscription is visible: and the column is locally known as the Tomb of Mana Bibi or the *Math* of Culpee. According to local tradition, a lady died on board one of the ships, which used to anchor here to purchase foodstuffs, and was brought ashore for burial. She is said to have been Portuguese: but as the vernacular word for this could be Feringhee we need be in no way committed to the nationality, nor need we feel debarred from identifying the monument with Pott’s Folly, although it does not go by that name.

Similar information has been obtained by Mr. Abdul Ali, the honorary Secretary of the Calcutta Historical Society, from the sub-postmaster of Culpee. The history of the column (he states) is lost in obscurity: and no one is able to say when it was erected. There is, however, a masonry ruin in the locality, some two miles away, which goes by the name of *Dunkey Sahib ka garh*, and, on this account apparently, a story is current that the column on the river bank commemorates the wife of a Portuguese named Dunkey, who had settled at Culpee. In support of this theory, it is pointed out that certain individuals now resident at Culpee claim descent from Portuguese parents and use

Portuguese names and titles. The two stories, it will be observed, exhibit a marked difference : and the presence of a mixed Portuguese colony at Culpee does not of necessity conclude the matter. The fact remains that Robert Pott set up a column at Culpee in memory of Emily Warren : and a column can be seen at Culpee to this day.

Of Culpee itself we have the following account in the District Gazetteer for the Twenty Four Parganas (edition of 1914 by L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E.):

KULPI.—Village in the Diamond Harbour subdivision, situated a mile inland from the bank of Hooghly, about 33 miles (by water) south of Calcutta. It is the headquarters of a thana, and is connected with Vishnupur (Bishtupur) by a road 11½ miles long. The reach of the Hooghly here is a favourite anchorage for vessels proceeding up and down the river. It is described as follows in Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* of 1815 :—

“ The shores here are a bed of mud, and the banks of the river covered with trees and thick jungle. Opposite to the anchorage of the ships, which lie about half a mile from the shore, is a creek, and at a mile from its entrance stands the town of Culpee. The crews of the ships stationed here suffer dreadfully from its extreme unhealthiness, numbers daily falling sacrifices to the pestilential exhalations from the rotten jungle mud.”

An earlier reference to Culpee occurs in Volume XIII of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* published on behalf of the Society of Jesus (nouvelle Edition, Paris 1780—1783.) This relates to the visit of Father Francisco Laynes S. J. fifth Bishop of Mylapore, to Bengal in 1712—1715, and his death at Bandel on June 11, 1715. A translation of the letter of Father Claude Barbier, S.J., in which the passage is found, was printed in 1910 in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. VI. pp. 200—227), with notes by the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J. The quotation runs :

Coulpy is a fairly good anchoring place. The French and English ships usually stay there. The Dutch go up as far as Folta, five leagues above.”

The Daniells in India.

OUR good friend, Mr. William Foster, is not convinced by the arguments advanced in our last issue (Vol. XXV. pp. 9-12) to support the theory that the Daniells were accompanied on their journey into Garhwal by Samuel Davis. The evidence, in his judgment, is not very strong: and no sketch appears to have been found, which can clearly be identified as made by him in that region. Even the sketch by Davis which we reproduced (opposite p. 12) may well have been made (he thinks) in some part of the Bhagalpur district, where the artist civilian was certainly stationed from at least 1787 to 1793. It is stated in the article (p. 10) that there is a gap in the records of the Government of India between August 7, 1783 when Davis was appointed to a writership on his return from Bhutan, and May 1, 1793, when we find him as Collector of Burdwan. Mr. Foster has ascertained that in the India Office lists of Bengal Civil Servants from February, 1785, to April, 1787, Davis is described as "Assistant to Collector and Register to the Court of Adawlut, Boglepore:" and that from October 1788 to April, 1792, his name appears with the same designation, except that he is termed First Assistant. His grades were: factor, August 7, 1788: Junior Merchant, August 7, 1791: Senior Merchant, August 7, 1794. We have it therefore, that he was at Bhagalpur when the Daniells arrived there on July 30, 1790: the date and place being those given by William Daniell in his letter to his mother. Mr. Foster surmises that it was at this period that the uncle and nephew "resided twelve months in the same House with" Davis, as related in the Farington Diary (entry of February 12, 1806). But there is this difficulty in the way: that the sketches in the sixth series of "Oriental Scenery," which contains six of excavations on the Island of Salsette and Elephanta, are expressly stated to have been "taken in the year 1790 and 1793:" and we know that the Daniells were at Calcutta in 1792 and thereafter in the Madras Presidency from June of that year to the beginning of 1793, when they left India. The friendship with Davis certainly continued in England as witness the following further entry in the Farington Diary:

August 11, 1807.—[Thomas] Daniell 'called.—His tour to Wales with [Samuel] Davis and Wm. Daniell cost them about 45 pounds each. They were out a month,—took a chaise from London and had Post Horses.—Their rule was to have a Bottle of wine at dinner and they dined late, having no Supper.

In the same article on "The Daniells in India" allusion was made (p. 4) to the fact that one of Thomas Daniell's pictures forms part of the National Gallery collection. Mr. C. A. Oldham, C.S.I., has sent us the following copy of an entry in the official catalogue of the National Gallery

The Daniell Picture in the National Gallery.

(printed in 1878):

No. 899. Woody Landscape—View on the Nullah, near Rajemahel, Bengal. European travellers with their attendants crossing a bridge, which was built by the Sultan Sujah, in the 17th century. Signed T. Daniell, 1827. On canvas 3ft. 2½in. N. by 4ft. 6in. W. Bequeathed by Mrs. William Mansfield in 1872.

As Thomas Daniell did not exhibit at the Royal Academy after 1828, this must have been one of his latest compositions. It was not shown at the Academy and is not now on view at the National Gallery. Mr. Oldham adds the following note:

It seems that this is the only painting by Daniell which was ever hung at the National Gallery: and it was transferred many years ago to the Tate Gallery, whence it found its way to the Ministry of Transport, where it apparently now is.

The "Waterfall of Dhuah Koondee in the neighbourhood of Sasseram" which supplies the subject for sketch No. 11 in the fourth series of Daniell's "Oriental Scenery" has been identified by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E., who has

The Dhuah Koondee water fall.

been good enough to send us the following note:

I have never heard of any waterfall of this name near Sasseram but think that what Daniell drew was the fall of the river Kao, where it leaves the hills for the plains, a few miles from Sasseram. I walked to it over the hills during the rains, and it was a magnificent spectacle—a great body of water plunging down rocky rapids and then over a precipice into a deep gorge. The Gersoppa falls, according to photographs which I have seen, have struck me as wonderfully similar. It is quite the finest waterfall which I have come across, but is very little known, being off the beaten track.

Daniell, like Mr. O'Malley, must have visited the spot in the rainy season, or shortly after: for in dry weather hardly a trickle of water falls over the cliff.

Here is an entry from the Farington Diary which is provokingly incomplete Who was the Rajah? as it stands. Can any member of the Society, or reader of *Bengal Past and Present*, fill in the blanks?

March 20, 1808.—Wm. Daniell called and shewed me a Seal engraved, the handle, a golden Elephant, intended by some Officer to be a present to a Rajah in the East Indies well disposed to the English, and from whom they had received favours.—The price about 50 guineas.

The „ Company’s Europeans.”

[Some account was given in the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* (Volume XXV, pp. 89—91) of the European regiments in the service of the Hon’ble East India Company, which by reason of their transformation into Irish battalions have now been mustered out of the British Army. These notes, which were reproduced in full in the *Statesman* of August 12, have inspired an article by Mr. H. Hobbs, which was published in that journal on September 7 and from which we are enabled, by the courteous permission of the Editor, to quote the following extracts.]

PRIOR to 1880 or 1881 there were but eight Irish to nineteen Scottish out of one hundred and fifty-four infantry battalions in the British Army. This great disproportion must have had something to do with the allocation of the old Company’s infantry to the Emerald Isle, with possibly some desire to placate Ireland by stimulating her national pride, for these units had more battle honours to their credit than all the other Irish regiments put together.

Would it be possible to keep one of the old battalions going by recruiting among the Anglo-Indian community, who must number among them many who have descended from the men who came to India to soldier with never a hope of going home again? The regiments bore Irish names for no more than forty years of their existence of two and a half centuries, and, while the British flag still waves over the best governed country in the world, they ought not to disappear as completely as the Legions of Rome.

The old Company’s troops were entirely English—not partly Scotch or Welsh or Irish—and were recruited among Englishmen for more than a hundred and fifty years. Possibly the greatest proof that Irishmen did not exist among the rank and the file during the whole of the 17th and the greater part of the 18th centuries is to be found in the attestation forms, originals of which can be seen in the Imperial Library. I give one as an example:—

March 8 (1770).

I, *John Thomsend*, born St. James, Westminster, aged 36 years, 5 Feet 4 Inches high, *Labourer* do make Oath, that I am a Protestant, that I have voluntarily engaged myself as a private Soldier, to serve the Hon’ble United East India Company five years at St. Helena, or any of their Settlements in India; and I do further make Oath that I am not an Apprentice to any person, or a Soldier or Sailor in His

Majesty's Service, or belong to the Militia, and that to the best of my knowledge I am in perfect Health and free from all Disorders.

London,

(Sd/-) his
John X Thomsend
mark

Evidently the medical examination was of a perfunctory nature as we read further :—

These are to certify whom it may concern that the aforesaid *John Thomsend* came before me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and made Oath, that he has Voluntarily engaged himself to serve the Hon'ble United East India Company five years as a Soldier at St. Helena, or any of their Settlements in India, that he has not any disorder he knows of, and that he is not an apprentice to any Person, or a Soldier or Sailor in his Majesty's Service, or belonging to the Militia.

Sworn before me,
the 9 March, 1770.

(Sd.) Will Beckford (1)
Mayor.

I have examined the above man and find him fit for service.

Two other forms give details of George Cartwright, aged 15 and 5 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and Anthony Boddin of Weighton, shire of Galloway, aged 38.

One sentence in the attestation form effectually disposes of the idea that prior to 1770 the Company's troops were obtained from Ireland.

For many years the East India Company were not permitted to recruit in Ireland and their area was restricted to certain parts of England while, from what one reads, they obtained most of their men from those rejected by the King's army, as they enlisted men between 15 and 42 with a standard of height three or four inches below those fixed for the regulars.

In 1699, Thomas Salmon was an ensign in the Madras garrison. The records state "This morning (October 6, 1699) Ensign Thomas Salmon and eleven men more run away off their guard with their arms." They were arrested sixty miles away under promise of a free pardon, but Salmon was kept in prison for a year and sent home. He published a book in 1724 and refers to the "English fort" and the "English Church." He tells us that the serjeants have £2-5 per month and the privates £1-2-9d "upon which

(1). The surname is given as "Brikfuy" in the *Statesman*. But Mr. S. Kumar, of the Imperial Library, who has examined the original document, states that the word is, quite clearly, "Beckford." Alderman William Beckford was Lord Mayor of London at the time, and signs as such. A portrait of him will be found in Sir Walter Besant's "London in the Eighteenth Century" (p. 25); and an account of his life in the Dictionary of National Biography. His son, also William (1760—1844), was the author of "Vathek" and builder at a ruinous cost of Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire, which he surrounded with a wall seventeen feet in height and seven miles in circumference.—ED. *Bengal : Past and Present*,

they live very well, all manner of provisions being extremely cheap; and linen so reasonable that a soldier may put on a clean shirt every day, as many of them do or at least every other day when they mount the guard and not a common soldier in the place but has a boy to wait on him."

Apparently those were the good old days, for Stocqueler, who joined the Company's artillery in 1818, gives an entirely different account in his "Memoirs of a Journalist."

"Half a century has passed away, and still I can recall the dark recesses of the deck, the filth, the nausea, the corroding indolence, the vile salt junk, and the watered scum."

He landed in Bombay on May 29, 1819 and describes his experiences.

The recruits, emancipated from their dreadful prison ship, were permitted to wander *ad libitum* through the lanes and bazaars of Bombay. On the evening of the second or third day, the serjeant in charge of the batch collected the stragglers and marched them to their destination. Most of them went bare-footed from choice, they had been accustomed to freedom of foot in their native bogs and highlands, and they saved shoe-leather by the adoption of a manner to which they were born. They were welcomed by the battalion quartered at Matoonga with a supper of potatoes and dried bummalows, accompanied by a large kettle of boiling black tea. "Shure then" said Paddy Driscoll, holding up a bummalow, "a bit of fresh mate is welkim."

From what Stocqueler tells us the soldiers lived under conditions which were a disgrace to those who employed them, and this state of affairs continued for many years; but it is evident that the ban on Irishmen had been removed, as large numbers of them came to India. When, therefore, one hears that "India was won for the British Empire by Irish soldiers under English officers for the benefit of Scotchmen," it is only partly true. Certainly in the thirties and forties of last century most of the drafts consisted of Irishmen, but that was very late in the day.

Another legend I was able to disprove last year was that about the magnificent physique of the Company's European battalions. When I came out, scores of the East India Company's old soldiers were working on the railways and in the Police. These men used to tell me that their comrades were all six-footers, but a reference I made last year in the India Office, when I examined the descriptive rolls of some thousands of men, shewed that but one, a cavalry recruit, was six feet—the rest were very small men of about 5 feet 5. The surprise was the amazing number sent out in the 'thirties and forties' of last century and the short time they lived. Small though they were, it is right to think of them as giants in those days.

H. H.

A Trip to Bengal in 1802.

THE " PERSIAN SONG."

IT is to be feared that Sir E. Denison Ross will not enhance his reputation as an Orientalist by his rendering of the so-called " Persian Song " supposed to be sung to her guests by the " Governor's Lady " one of the characters in Charles Smith's Musical Entertainment " A Trip to Bengal." (See the last Vol. of *Bengal Past and Present*, pp. 99 to 106.) Sir Denison Ross, of course, recognized that the verses were in Urdu, not Persian. But, even regarded as a translation of the Urdu original, his rendering is hopelessly wrong.

The idea conveyed of the picture presented by the ditty is absolutely incorrect. Sir Denison Ross misinterprets its sense as a whole, because he misses the points in its various little expressions. He thinks that the lines depict a dissolute youth making illicit love to another man's wife in his absence—she assuring him that there is no fear of his being caught. This is not so at all. What we are really supposed to see is a youth passing a number of *filles-de-joie*, all seated at their doors. One of them accosts him, tries to dissuade him from going into any of the other houses, and urges him to patronize her. He suddenly departs, and she is left wondering why he ever came to such a quarter of the town.

I attach a revised transliteration of the Urdu, and a very free translation of the lines, as in my opinion they ought to be rendered.

Revised Transliteration.

Aré, dil-nadān, le-ā !	Paré, man-nadān, le-ā !
Main kai karūn, ai lōgon ?	Dil-nadān, le-ā !
Aré, dil-nadān, le ā !	Paré, man-nadān, le-ā !
Aré, ūnké dar par, karsi-bethi-karti.	Piyār ! Piyār !
Aré, ek tambulīn	... qurbān in.
Aré, is ghar le-ānā !	Uh, tū gayā ? Tū rin-ki hai ?
Aré, kai .. ?	

Free Translation.

Ho, Foolish-One, bring yourself here ! (What can I do, O people ?).	Hey, Feather-head, this way ! Come along, Foolish One !
Ho, Foolish-One, bring yourself here !	Hey, Feather-head, this way !
Hi, by their door those (girls) are talking indecent abuse.	Darling ! Darling !
Hist, (that girl is only) a pan-wali !	It would be a sacrifice !
Hey, this is the house to come to !	Uh, you've gone ? Got no money ?
Then, whatever (are you here for) . . . ?	

S. KHUDA BAKHSH.

Our Library Table.

*The English Factories in India : 1661—1664 : By William Foster, C.I.E.
(Oxford : University Press : Sixteen shillings net).*

THE present volume is the eleventh of a series of remarkable interest and historical value. It is designed, in conjunction with the companion series of "Court Minutes of the East India Company" (1635—1659), to supplement and continue the Public Record Office's "Calendars of State Papers, East Indies," of which the publication has now ceased. The ten previous volumes have covered the period between 1618 and 1660, and the chronicle of events is now brought down to the year 1664.

Although the Company had not been happy under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, they had succeeded in obtaining a charter from Cromwell in 1657. Under its provisions they raised the first permanent stock, and, as Sir William Hunter has put it, passed from a medieval to a modern basis. Their principal settlement was at Surat on the west coast, which was governed by a President and Council. In a letter of December 7, 1661, particulars are given of the staffs of the factories under their control. Factors were stationed at Acheen (in Sumatra), Ahmedabad, "Scindy" (Lahribandar, dissolved in the following year), Broach, Karwar, (a little below Goa), Kayal (near Tuticorin), and Rajapur (between Ratnagiri and the pirate Angria's fort of Viziadroog or Gheriah). There was in addition a factor at Mocha and an Agency at Gombroon in Persia. A factory was under contemplation in Ceylon for "the procury of cinnamon" : but three of the Company's servants "whoe were cast away in the ship *Persian Merchant*" were being held as prisoners by "the Mallabars at Zeilon." Besides Karwar and Kayal, there was a factory on the Malabar coast at "Porcatt" (Porakad) between Quilon and Cochin. Communication with Rajapur was at a standstill, since that port had been raided by Sivaji and the English factors carried into captivity : and the pepper-trade generally was in a serious condition, owing to the fact that the Dutch had captured all the Portuguese possessions, south of Goa.

On the Coromandel coast, the headquarters were at Fort Saint George : and we read how the Agent and Factors there learned in February 1661 of the Restoration, not from their employers in London, but from "our Dutch friends at Pollicatt" who "have advised us of brave newes from England : the principall is that the King was received into London with greate pomp the 29 May last, with many other circumstances of his inthroning." In April 1662 the neighbouring Portuguese Settlement of "St. Thoma is still besiedged by land and sea by the King of Golcondah's forces" and "the Capt. Moore," or Chief Commander (Portuguese, Capitão mor), "and citizens have twice

protested against us for not assisting them, which wee have denyed them till wee shall have order." A month later it is reported that " St. Thoma was lost about 10 daies agoe " and " the Companies fort is much threatned," but "wee shall defend ourselves to the utmost of our power." The factories subordinate to Fort Saint George were at Petapoli, Viravasaram, Madapollam and Metchlepatam (Masulipatam) where no debts were to be allowed as " wee have already smarted for the same." Fort Saint George itself was not very healthy. In November 1664 a letter says that " the fresh souldiers which came forth this yeare, taking up their habitation in the bleake winde in the hall, fall sick " and " rather than to see English men dropp away like doggs," Mr Cogan's house is rented " at two pagotheas per moneth."

In Bengal, or " the Bay " the headquarters were at Hooghly and there were subordinate factories at Cossimbazar, Balasore, and Patna, where Job Charnock was in charge. Unlike the Dutch, who regularly sent " many great ships " up the river, the English vessels lay in Balasore roads where goods were transferred to and from country boats. Captain Elliot of the *Coast Frigate* and Captain Kilvert of the *Concord* were willing in 1661 to " adventure their ships," but although " the difficulty and danger is not soe much as is supposed," it was not until 1678 that an English ship, the *Falcon*, managed to reach the factory at Hooghly. The Agency in Bengal was suppressed in 1661, and the factors placed under the Agent at Madras, and when Sir George Oxenden went out to Surat as President in March 1662, Madras, Bengal and Bantam were excluded from his control. Shortly afterwards William Blake was appointed " Chief in the Bay " and Edward Winter Agent at Fort Saint George.

There is, however, very little concerning Bengal in the volume, and comparatively little regarding Madras. The main episode centres around Bombay, which makes its appearance as a permanent feature in the history of British India. The year 1661 brought the island by dowry to the British Crown: and in the following year James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, was sent out with a squadron of five King's ships to take possession. A force of 400 soldiers under Sir Abraham Shipman was placed on board, and instructions were issued to him to demand and receive the island " with the artillery ammunition, etc.", and thereupon to put the fortifications in order and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. The document recites that " Our maine design in putting Our selfe to this great charge for making this addition to Our dominions " was " to gain to Our subjects more free and better trade in the East Indies." Various disputes, however, promptly arose with de Mello de Castro, the Portuguese Governor who had also been sent out from Lisbon with the English fleet, and finally a wrangle ensued as to whether the word " Bombay " as used in the marriage treaty denoted the island merely or included Salsette and Thana " under the name and royalty of Bombay." In December 1662, therefore, Shipman and the bulk of his troops, who had been waiting at Swally, set out for Karwar and under the protection of Lord Marlborough's guns established themselves on the island

of Anjediva "that lyeth in the mouth of Carwarr." The island was as unhealthy then as it still is: and the men at once began to sicken. By the end of June 1663 the climate had claimed over two hundred victims, including Shipman's brother: and in April 1664 Sir Abraham himself died. When the remnants of the force were finally landed at Bombay in March 1665, they had dwindled to one officer and 113 men: and from these arose the famous Royal Bombay Fusiliers, transformed at a later date into the 2nd battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. In 1668 Bombay, together with the whole of the military stores, was made over to the Company to be held at a yearly rent of ten pounds "as of the manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent in free and common soccage": and in 1687 it became the chief settlement on the west coast in place of Surat.

The other important event during the period embraced by this volume is the attack which was unexpectedly made by Sivaji in 1664 upon the town of Surat. Writing to their friends in Persia almost immediately after his withdrawal, the President, Sir George Oxenden, and his Council declare that his booty was estimated at a "crué (crore) of rupees." The English factory was in imminent danger, and Mr. Anthony Smith, one of the factors, was actually seized and put in peril of his life. But a wholesome effect was produced by the bold attitude of Oxenden who told "Sevegee" bluntly that "wee were here on purpose to mainetaine" the Company's "house to the death of the last man, and therefore not to delay his comeing upon us." It is a stirring story, and well told in the President's letter to his honourable masters. Nor is the fine portrait of Oxenden, which serves Mr. Foster as a frontispiece, unworthy of the gallant Englishman whom it represents.

The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., on his journey to the Court of Akbar: translated from the original Latin by J. S. Hoyland, M.A., Hislop College, Nagpur, and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mahindra College, Patiala. (Oxford: University Press: Rupees six and annas eight).

In the year 1906, a document was discovered by Archdeacon Firminger in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, which upon examination proved to be the original manuscript of the diary kept by Father Antonio Monserrate, a member of the first Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar which left Goa on November 17, 1579, and arrived at Fatehpur Sikri on February 28, 1580. The diary which is written in Latin is addressed to Father Claudio Aquaviva, "head of the whole Society of Jesus," and a note at the end informs us that the author "finished copying and revising the manuscript at Senaa in Arabia on the feast of St. Damasus in the month of December, 1590 A.D." Father Monserrate, who had returned to Goa in 1582, was ordered to Abyssinia in 1588, and while coasting around Arabia was captured by the Arabs and imprisoned first at Dofar (Mir Bat) and subsequently at Senaa

(to the north of Aden). In August 1596 he was ransomed and in December of that year found himself once more at Goa. He was then sent to Salsette, where he died in 1600. For some unexplained reason his manuscript never reached either Lisbon or Rome. Nothing is known of its history until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was certainly in Calcutta, and passed successively through the College at Fort William, the Public Library at the Metcalfe Hall, and the Imperial Library, to the Cathedral Library, where it was discovered, as already stated, in 1906. It has now been restored to the Imperial Library.

The Latin text was admirably edited by Father H. Hosten, S.J., and published in 1914 in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. III. pp. 513—704): but hitherto no English version has been available. This want has now been supplied by Mr. Hoyland and Professor Banerjee has added a number of illuminating and scholarly notes.

It is not too much to say that the Commentary of Father Monserrate is a primary historical authority of the first importance: and that it forms an indispensable adjunct to an adequate study of the arresting and baffling character of the Emperor Akbar—whom the good priest indifferently styles "Equebarus" and "Zelaldinus" (Jelal-ud-din). In the long line of the Indian Sovereigns (say the present editors in their introduction) the personalities of Asoka and Akbar tower above the rest. But they were by no means identical in disposition: and the difference is particularly marked in the interest which each of them took in religious matters. Asoka adopted the teachings of Gautama Buddha without reserve and wove them into the fabric of Government. Akbar's analytical mind, revolting against the illiberal sectarianism of the Mollahs, devoted itself to a dissection of the various religious systems, and ultimately evolved in 1582 the *Din-i-illahi*, "a hodge podge of philosophy," which was drawn mainly from Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism. In the course of this process of enquiry he thrice invited the Jesuit fathers at Goa to send missions to his court, in order that he might investigate the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. He is said to have suggested that he might arrange to be baptized by travelling to Goa under pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca: but, whatever his personal predilections may have been, dynastic and political pressure proved too strong for him, and he was never converted. At first an encouragement, he speedily became an enigma, and eventually a bitter disappointment. As a matter of fact, there were Parsee *mobeds*, such as Dastur Meherji Rana, Jain teachers, of whom no less than six are known, and even Sikh *gurus*, always at his elbow, as well as Christian priests—to say nothing of the Hindu ladies of his zenana—and from first to last he was merely a keen and appreciative student of comparative religion, and nothing more.

The first mission arose out of a visit paid to Akbar's court in 1578 by Father Egidio Pereira, Vicar General at the Bengal headquarters at Satgaon (Hooghly), who was still with the Emperor when his colleagues arrived. Father Monserrate—who was accompanied by Father Rodolfo Aquaviva,

younger son of the Duke of Atri and nephew of the General of the Society, and Father Francisco Enriquez, a Persian convert from Islam—was appointed to be tutor to the Emperor's second son Murad. Theological discussions were held with the Mahomedan divines and conducted with some acrimony: and for a time the fathers shared the royal favour with the Jain instructors. But it soon became clear that the new religion, which was to make the best of all creeds, could make no claim to be coloured by Christianity. The Jesuit missionaries asked leave to return to Goa, but were pressed to remain. Father Enriquez, however, had already gone in 1581, and Father Monserrate left in April 1582 with the embassy to Europe which was headed by Abdullah Khan and Sayyid Muzaffar. A letter was addressed, according to some, to the scholars of Europe (*Danyan-i-Farang*), according to others, to the Ruler of Europe (*Riwa-i-Farang*) who was in those days Philip the Second of Spain: but it was never delivered. The mission duly reached Goa: but Monserrate remained there as we have seen, and one of the ambassadors, who had accepted the honour most unwillingly, concealed himself in the Deccan, while the other returned to Fatehpur Sikri. Father Aquaviva stayed with the Emperor until 1583 when he too came back to Goa and was sent to Salsette where he was murdered by a mob at Cuncolum in July 1784.

Considerations of space will not admit of a more detailed account of an extraordinarily interesting episode. But we cannot conclude without expressing appreciation of the excellence of the translation and of the skill displayed in identifying the various persons and towns mentioned under strange disguises in the text.

Bengal District Records: Chittagong: Vol. I. 1760-1773.
(*Bengal Secretariat Book Depot: Rupees nine*).

This is the latest addition to the useful series of District Records, which is being published by the Government of Bengal. The correspondence here printed is contained in eleven volumes preserved in the record-room of the Chittagong Collectorate. It commences with a letter of December 1, 1760, from the President (Henry Van Sittart) and Council at Fort William, appointing Harry Verelst to be Chief of Islamabad (Chittagong), and Randolph Marriott and Thomas Rumbold to be "of Council." Other Chiefs concerned are Francis Charlton (as to whom see Hickey's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 167) John Reed, Thomas Lane, Walter Wilkins, and Charles Bentley. Another collection of letters, dating from January 10, 1762 to June 19, 1763, is also given. These were written by William Billers, Chief of the Luckypore Factory, who committed suicide in 1764 when Chief of Azimabad (Patna), as recorded in *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* (Vol. III, p. 7, Cambray's edition).

The Editor's Note Book.

IT was stated on page 114 of the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV) that the Portuguese Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario at Bandel is "the oldest place of Christian worship in Bengal if not in India." The latter part of the statement is challenged with perfect correctness by a correspondent. He points out that, although the Church at Bandel is believed to date from 1599, the Church of St. Francis in the ancient South Indian town of Cochin was built by the Portuguese, if not in 1516, as some say, at all events in the early years of the sixteenth century. This grey pile, of massive but plain construction, is the oldest existing European Church in India. We take the following particulars from the *Malabar Gazetteer* (1908 : p. 409) :

The Church Plate is very valuable and interesting, and was handed over by the Dutch when the town was captured in 1795. The floor was until recently paved with the inscribed and carved tombstones of former Portuguese and Dutch worthies, but in 1887 they were taken up and fixed against the walls. The Church was restored in 1779 by the Dutch, who came into possession of the town in 1603.

"It is haunted, and the disconsolate figure of an old woman is seen sometimes in the building but more commonly seated by the side of an old well on the adjacent maidan."

DID the Duke of Wellington make a fortune in India? In the Farington Diary, under date of February 17, 1810, we read that a pension of £2000 a year was granted on the previous day to Lord Wellington and his two next heirs by the House of Commons, 213 members voting for the pension and 106 against it. During the debate (says Farington) :

Mr. Wellesley Pole stated that Lord Wellington had informed Him that His circumstances were as follows: That when He returned from India He had 42 or £43,000. £5,000 he recd prize money at Seringapatam: £25,000 in the Mahratta War; 5,000 from the Court of Directors for His Services: and £2,0000 in Government arrears as Commander in Seringapatam. That He now had about £40,000 remaining, half of which, including Her own £6,000 is settled on Lady Wellington.

Wellesley Pole was a relation of the family who succeeded in 1842 to the Irish Earldom of Mornington, the title held by the Marquess Wellesley when he came out to India as Governor-General in 1798. The Victoria Memorial

Hall possesses two busts of Wellington and a portrait on twilled canvas which was painted by Robert Home in 1804 and was purchased from him for Rs. 2,000 in the following year when it was placed in the Throne-room at Government House, Calcutta.

MILITARY men in those days did not shake the pagoda tree with the vigour which (as we shall presently see) the Civil Servants of the Company employed. The House of Commons had also to come to the assistance of the heirs of Lord Lake, the Baron of Delhi and Laswaree, who is commemorated by a fine equestrian portrait in the Victoria Memorial Hall. Lake who was Commander-in chief in India from 1800 to 1807 died on February 21, 1808. A week later, Lord Castlereagh moved that a pension of £2,000 a year be granted to his heir and successor, and to the two next holders of the title. Michael Angelo Taylor (son of Sir Robert Taylor, the Architect who founded the Taylorian Institute at Oxford) pointed out that Lake had left only £40,000 to support the peerage and to provide for a family of seven children. Wellington, who was then Sir Arthur Wellesley and had a seat in the House, is reported to have said that Lake was heavily in debt when he went out to India, and that as a matter of fact, he was accompanied by a sort of broker's man, who drew all his pay, and after defraying necessary expenses, carried the balance to the account of the creditors whose demands were not satisfied until 1804. He had brought back with him "not more than" £35,000 or £40,000: but the family estate, Aston Clinton, which was worth about £800 a year, was burdened with encumbrances to the total of half that sum. The motion in this case was carried by an enormous majority, 202 voting for the pension and only 15 against it.

"MR. COCHRANE made a fortune at Madras": records Farington in his Diary on August 6, 1809. The reference is to the Hon. Basil Cochrane "of Portman Square," uncle to the famous Lord Cochrane and the following brief recital of his official career in India will show how his wealth was amassed:

"1769. Writer at Fort Saint George. 1776. Factor. 1778. Junior Merchant. 1780. Senior Merchant. 1792. Agent for the Management and Distribution of Liquor for the use of the Army. 1795. Civil Paymaster in addition. 1808. At home. 1810. Out of the Service."

The opportunities for enrichment in such an appointment as that which Mr. Cochrane held for sixteen years were limitless.

IT is not surprising, therefore, to learn that, as late as the year 1805, a writership in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company, was thought to be as good as a seat in

The price of a writership.

Parliament. Joseph Farington, who allowed nothing to escape him, records as follows on April 26, 1809:—

Yesterday in the House of Commons Lord Archibald Hamilton moved that it appears to this House that Lord Visct. Castlereagh, in the year 1805, having first quitted the Presidency of the Board of Controul, and being at the time a Privy Counsellor, and one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, did deliver up, into the hands of Lord Clancarty, a writership, of which He had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in Parliament. That, merely from the disagreement of some subordinate agents employed, this design was not carried into effect.

After a long debate, the motion was defeated by 216 votes against 167.

THOSE were days in which baronets and younger sons of peers were commonly to be met with in the ranks of the Civil Service. One Bengal Civil list gives the names of nine titled civilians. of the former and eleven of the latter. As a rule life was made both easy and profitable for these young gentlemen. Take for instance, the case of the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay, fifth son of the eighth Earl of Dalhousie. He received his nomination as a writer on May 30, 1792 at the age of sixteen, but did not arrive in India until January 11, 1796, when he was promptly posted to the commercial branch of the service, as to which some details have already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV. pp. 84—88). In December, 1797 he became assistant to the Commercial Resident at Ghazee-pore, and in 1803 was put in charge of the Commercial Residency at Jangy-pore. Here he remained until 1829 with the exception of a few months at the Rampore Baulea Residency in 1816 and a short spell of office as Salt Agent of the 24-Pergunnahs in 1818. He then went on furlough and retired on annuity on May 1, 1832, by which time he had no doubt, amassed a handsome fortune in private trade. His death took place at Cheltenham in 1848, the year after his nephew, the tenth Earl, and first and last Marquess, of Dalhousie assumed office as Governor-General of India. Sometimes, however, fortune was unkind, as in the case of the Hon'ble Herbert Windsor Stuart, second son of the fourth Earl of Bute (who was created a Marquess in 1796) and grandson of the "Jack Boot" of Wilkes. He was nominated to a writership in Bengal on April 11, 1792, at the age of twenty two, and arrived in India on December 9, 1793. From January, 1794 to October, 1795, he was assistant to the Register of the Court of Appeal at the Presidency, and was appointed assistant to the Collector of Purneah in March, 1797: He became Register of the Zillah Adawlut at Moorshedabad in April 1800, and resigned in the following August. Ten years later we come across him in the Farington Diary:—

" July 21st 1810.—[Sir Francis] Bourgeois, [R.A.] spoke of his intimacy with Lord Herbert Stuart and of the divided state of the Marquiss's family—Lord Herbert was in Bengal but returned with

a fortune in consequence of a disagreement with Lord Wellesley, and now lives upon a very small allowance from His Father."

IN another entry on April 18, 1809, Farington tells us how Directors of the East India Company were elected. Mr. George Woodford Thellusson, a banker, had served on the Board from 1799 to 1807, and was standing for re-election. The method of electing Directors. Farington was asked to procure votes for him: when it appeared that it was the custom for the twenty-four Directors to draw up a House list. If however any one member objected to the inclusion of a name, it was omitted. Charles Grant, "who is methodistically inclined," was the only person who objected to Thellusson, unless the notice of his candidature was accompanied with an advertisement issued by the Directors, "which did Him much prejudice" by making certain conduct which is not specified "seem questionable." Thellusson was not elected. Grant as we know, sat on the Board from 1797 until his death in 1823 and was Chairman in 1805, 1809 and 1815.

IT is well known that Sir Robert Chambers was on intimate terms with Dr. Johnson. There is, however, only one letter from Dr. Johnson and Sir Robert Chambers. Johnson to Chambers to be found in Boswell, and that is dated November 21, 1754, twenty years before the future Chief Justice embarked for Bengal. Considerable interest, therefore, attaches to the series of twenty four letters, written to Chambers between 1755 and 1783, which was offered for sale at Sotheby's in May of last year. Six of these letters, which were the property of Mrs. Power of Sunningdale, a great grand daughter of Chambers, had already been submitted to auction at Sotheby's in July 1901, when they belonged to General Macdonald; and again in December, 1904. They have now gone to the United States, the purchaser being Mr. Philip Rosenbach, of Philadelphia, and the price paid £300. Johnson, it will be remembered, was with Chambers in the Temple when the conversation occurred in 1773 which scandalized Boswell and excited such a fit of laughter in Johnson that he "laid hold of one of the posts at the side of the foot pavement and sent forth peals so loud that in the silence of the night his voice seemed to resound from Temple Bar to Fleet Ditch."

MR. R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.B.E., the Principal of the Hooghly College Kiernander's house in Calcutta. sends us the following transcript of minutes (G. G. Proceedings 9 Mar. 1775 pp. 814-815) which he has made in the course of certain researches into official records upon which he is engaged.

From the Provincial Council of Revenue at Calcutta.

To the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqre Governor-General, and Council of Revenue at Fort William.

Permit us to enclose you copy of a petition from the Reverend Mr. Kiernander regarding the grant of a piece of ground adjoining his house, the ground being part of the public road. We beg to know your pleasure in the subject.

We are with respects, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient Humble Servants,

Dated Fort William,
12th December, 1774.

} P. M. Dacres,
} James Lawrell,
} E. Stephenson,
} W. Harwood,

(Enclosure)

To Philip Milner Dacres Esqre
& Committee of Revenue.

The humble petition of John Z. Kiernander Showeth: that being much incommoded with the nuisance of some straw huts that are built without license on a vacant spot of ground between the Court House and his house, begs leave to take in the said vacant spot to his ground which to the East side of the Court House, leaving the high road entire of 75 feet broad, is 18 feet more in breadth from that road to his ground at the South end of the Court House, and will obediently comply with the terms of the Committee and shall as in duty ever pray.

A true copy

(no date)

(Signed) P. Moore,

Secretary.

It may be taken for granted that the petition was refused: if, as appears probable, Kiernander's house was in close proximity to the "Company's camar," or untenanted land which was situated on the south of Dalhousie Square, and which remained unbuilt upon until 1806 (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 171-172). The locality was undoubtedly Dalhousie Square or Mission Row, for the Court House then stood on the site of St. Andrews Kirk, and their Lordships of the Supreme Court did not migrate to their new quarters in Esplanade West until shortly before 1784.

KIERNANDER, as we know from the investigations of the late Major D.M. Moir, I.M.S., was also the owner of a garden house which was purchased from him and altered to form the Central block of the General Hospital, of which it constitutes the oldest portion. We find it described as a "large strong new built house" in a letter to the Court of Directors of April 4, 1768. Kiernander speculated largely in building operations and it is certain that he was the contractor for and builder of the Eastern and Western blocks of the Hospital.

WHO laid the first brick of Government House, Calcutta? The information is given in "*The East Indian Chronologist*" (printed at the Hirkarrah Press, Calcutta, 1801), one of the books to which reference is made in Mr. Oldham's article on "Asiaticus."

Government House, Calcutta.

"1799. February 5th. The first brick of New Government House in Calcutta was this day laid by one of the supervisors, Mr. Timothy Hickey. The ground for this superb building was purchased by the Government for 80,000 Rupees, about the middle of the preceding year."

There were so many Hickeys, to say nothing of an extremely vocal James Augustus Hicky, in Calcutta during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, that it requires some concentration of mind to distinguish between them. But this Timothy Hickey is otherwise unknown to fame, unless, indeed, he be the conductor of ordnance who resigned the service in December, 1805.

BENARAM PUNDIT has we fear been forgotten. But, as the vakeel of the Rajah of Berar, he rendered valuable service to Warren Hastings at the time of Cheyt Singh's insurrection at Benares. We find Hastings writing to his wife :

Benaram Pundit.

Benaram Pundit and his brother have shown an uncommon attachment to me. You will like them for it.

At a later date he writes from Daylesford to Sir Charles D'Oyly : "When I was at Benares in 1780, I bestowed a piece of land in Gazeepor on Benaram Pundit.....If.....the family have been deprived of this property, I entreat you to put them in the way to obtain the restitution of it."

The nature of the service rendered is thus described in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 161) :

On arriving at Chunar . . . the situation of the Governor-General was altogether a critical one, for so low was the Company's credit in India at this period that their functionaries could not raise sufficient money even for the supply of the very limited number of troops which they had in pay in the Zemeendary. Under these circumstances, they must have suffered the greatest extremity of want, but for the liberality of the Rajah of Berar's vakeel, who volunteered to advance a lac of rupees to Mr. Hastings out of his own private funds, receiving as security a note in the Company's name for its repayment at a stipulated period.

The gratitude of Hastings was such that he requested Zoffany to paint Benaram's portrait : and it was hung in his dining room at Daylesford. On the death of Miss Winter of Nether Worton Hall, Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire, the grand-niece of Mrs. Hastings, to whom the house and collections had passed, the painting came into the possession of Mr. Francis Edwards of

High Street, Marylebone. It should have been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

It is not generally known that when Zoffany was returning from India in 1789, the vessel was wrecked and he and some other passengers were compelled to take to the boats. The party who were with Zoffany found themselves without food. Eventually, writes Dr. Williamson, one of the sailors who was in a very weak state either died or was killed; and the others were driven to eat his flesh roasted in some primitive manner to keep themselves alive. It is said that the horror of this experience cast a shadow on Zoffany's life. Up till then he had been a jovial man of fashion. Thereafter his mood was one of settled melancholy.

WE get a glimpse or two of Zoffany in the Farington Diary. Here is one of them:

" August 1, 1794.—Left Strawberry Hill at 7 o'clock and breakfasted at Kew. Called on Zoffany, and I made a drawing of Kew Bridge from his window. He was painting on one of his Paris subjects,—the women and sans culottes dancing, etc. over the dead bodies of the Swiss soldiers.—Zoffany's legs are much swelled by a scorbutic humour."

The second reveals him to us in his declining years:—

" March 12, 1809.—Flaxman I dined with. Miss Green told us Zoffany's faculties were gone. He is become childish.

The end was not then far off. Zoffany died at strand on the Green, near Kew, on November 11, 1810. On the mourning rings (says Farington) " His age was put 87 "—which was correct, as he came to England in 1758, when twenty-five years old—but Nollekens, the miser sculptor, who attended the funeral, " thinks he was 93."

While on the subject of Zoffany, we record the fact that there was in Calcutta, until very recently indeed, a copy in three volumes (of which each bears the autograph of Zoffany on the title-page) of John Zephaniah Holwell's " Interesting Historical Events relative to the Province of Bengal and the Empire of Hindostan" (London, 1767). The books have, we believe, been sent to London to find a purchaser. The juxtaposition of the two famous names would seem to lend some colour to Dr. G. C. Williamson's ascription to Zoffany of the portrait of Holwell, superintending the erection of the Black Hole monument. The picture formerly hung in Government House on the north-east staircase between the first and second floors and was purchased through the exertions of Dr. Busted in 1892 by direction of Lord Lansdowne, from one of Holwell's descendants in Canada. It is true that Holwell left India in 1760,

and Zoffany arrived in 1783. But the picture may well have been painted in England during the intervening period. There is another portrait of Holwell in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection, which is attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds.

VISITORS to the Victoria Memorial Hall will have noticed in the gallery
 George Willison. on the ground floor, to the left of the grand entrance, a large portrait of Nawab Mohammed Ali Wala Jah, the last Nawab of the Carnatic (1754-1795). The picture, which was formerly in the royal collection at Hampton Court, and has been transferred on permanent loan by His Majesty the King Emperor was painted at Madras in 1791 by George Willison. A second portrait by him of the same Nawab, painted on twilled canvas, and with a slightly different back-ground, once hung in the Throne-room at Government House, Calcutta, and has migrated up-country with the Viceroy. The artist is the subject of the following entry in "Anecdotes of Painters" an almost forgotten book by Edward Edwards, A.R.A. (1738-1806):—

"George Willison.—Not meeting with much employment, he went to the East Indies where by his pencil assisted by friendly connexions he acquired a fortune upon which he returned to his native land and settled in Edinburgh where he died about 1793. He was before his death considered as the richest commoner in the country in jewels, as some person of large fortune in the East Indies had bequeathed to him the whole of his property much of which consisted in these valuable articles. This acquisition he obtained by his skill in physic which enabled him to cure his benefactor of a wound."

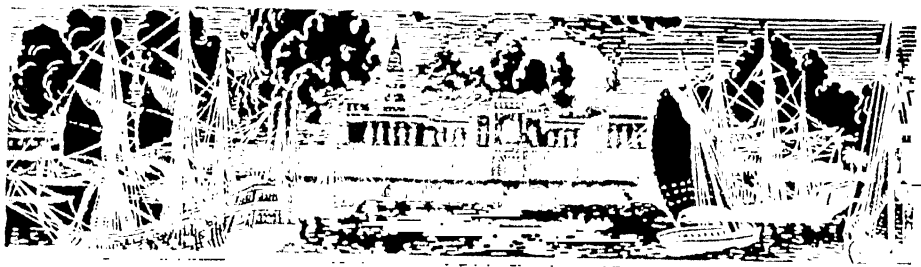
Edwards was the deformed son of a chairmaker and carver, and figures prominently in the Farington Diary. Ozias Humphry said of him that "His acts of heroism and resolution" were "so disproportioned to his bodily distortion and weakness," that if "His excentricities and peculiarities could be recorded, they would make a history as entertaining as Don Quixote" (Diary, December 17, 1806). His book was published posthumously in 1808 and is full of curious details. Farington corrected the biographies of Hodges and of his brother George, who died at Moorshedabad in 1788, and whom William Hickey met there when visiting his friend Pott in 1785.

MR. SURENDRA NATH ROY, the Deputy President of the Bengal Legislative Council, writes: It may not be generally known that
 Old Calcutta houses. in the later sixties of last century Sir Barnes Peacock, the then Chief Justice of Bengal, purchased a fine large two-storied house at Budge-Budge, some fifteen miles from Government House, and was accustomed to spend the week end there. When he left India in 1870 he transferred his interest in the house to Sir Louis Jackson (puisne Judge of the High Court from

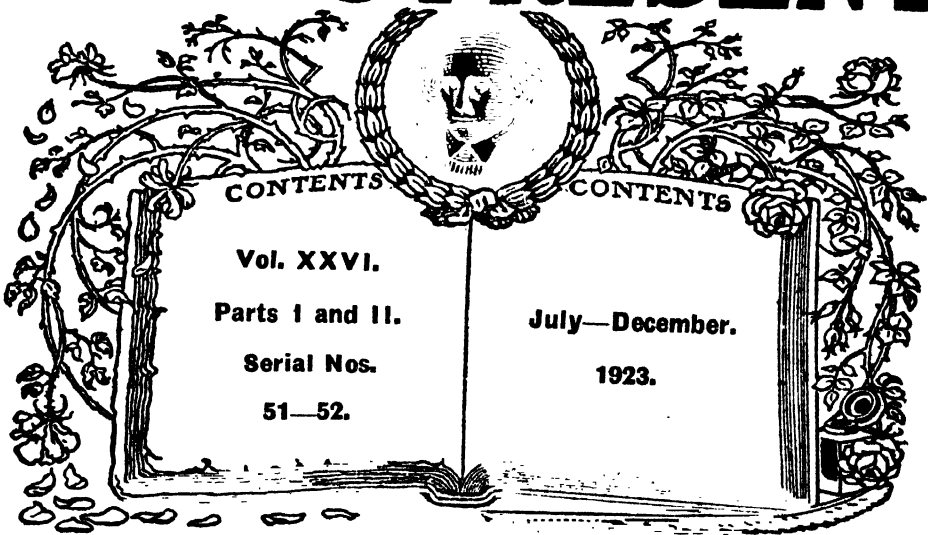
1862 to 1880). The large compound has now been converted into a jute mill by Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co: and the handsome mansion is occupied by the mill manager or the sale master of the firm who motor into Calcutta every day. Sir Barnes Peacock's Calcutta residence was at 13, Russell Street where he used to live like the head of a Hindu joint family with his sons and his daughter-in-law. The house was subsequently occupied by Mr. Justice (Arthur) Macpherson and Sir Henry Cotton. The residence of Sir Lancelot Sanderson, the present Chief Justice of Bengal, at 7, Middleton Street, was formerly tenanted by Mr. F. B. Peacock, son of Sir Barnes and Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal: and Sir Trevor (then Mr.) Plowden, the father of Her Excellency Lady Lytton, and Mrs. Plowden lived there with him.

THE note on Thomas Pattle, which is given on page 150 of the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* is capable of being supplemented in one or two particulars. Pattle came out as a writer in 1765 and was still in the service in 1806. He was appointed senior judge of the Court of appeal at Moorshedabad on February 3, 1797, and superintendent of Nizamut affairs in March 1800. Another Thomas Pattle, who was no doubt his father, was a Director of the Company from 1787 to 1795, and was "ship's husband" of the Speke Indiaman (499 tons) from 1765 to 1772, during which period she made two voyages to the Coast and Bay and one to St. Helena and China. She carried as third officer on her first voyage (Coast and Bay, April 14, 1765—June 20, 1767) Peter Speke, the brother of "Billy" Speke, midshipman of the *Kent* seventy four, who lies buried in St. John's Churchyard. Peter Speke obtained a Bengal writership in 1769 and was member of the Supreme Council from 1789 to 1801. In 1802 he became senior member of the Board of Trade and died in Calcutta in 1811. Sudder Street, which connects Chowringhee with Free School Street, was once known as Speke Street from the fact that Peter Speke lived in the house now occupied by the Superintendent of the Museum, the grounds in those days extending to Kyd Street. Later on the house was used as the Sudder Court, (whence the modern name of the street), and a good representation of it is given in Sir Charles D'Oyly's "Views of Calcutta" which were published in London in 1849.

MRS. E. E. FRANCIS, who is the daughter of the late Mr. T. H. Kavanagh, "Lucknow" Kavanagh. V.C., of Lucknow fame, has presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall a number of reproductions of interesting Mutiny photographs from her father's albums. Among these is a photograph from a picture which represents Sir James Outram and other officers "making up" Kavanagh for his return journey to the Residency. Mrs. Francis is unable to give any information on the subject of the original picture. Can any member of the Society fill the gap?



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712.

IN the Orme collection of Manuscripts at the India Office (Vol. IX pp. 2159—2174) there may be seen a paper entitled "The Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta in the Government of Mr. Russell and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley." Certain extracts are quoted in the second volume of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal": but the whole document is so entertaining and instructive that it is well worth reprinting. A careful transcript has been made by Miss L. M. Anstey, and it is given below.

The earlier portion of the narrative contains many interesting details regarding the navigation of the Hooghly, and may profitably be studied along with John Thornton's "New and Correct Chart shewing the Braces with the Sands Shoals Depth of Water and Anchorage from Point Palmiras to Hughly in the Bay of Bengal," which is appended to the 1703 edition of the "English Pilot." This map, of which a reproduction on half the original scale will be found on the opposite page, forms one of the illustrations to the third volume of Sir Henry Yule's edition of Hedges' Diary (Hakluyt Society, 1889). It will be noticed that it is divided into two sections. Great assistance in identifying the various landmarks mentioned in the narrative has been derived from Mr. R. J. Barlow's notes on early river topography which form so valuable a feature of the same work (Vol. III, pp. ccvii to ccxx).

The second part opens with "Some Account of Calcutta and the Danes Factory at Gundullparra." This is followed by a lively history of "Disturbances at Hughley among the Moors," and a description of the "Chinchura," Hughley, "Golgutt, the English Factory at Hughley," and "the Bandell."

For Governor John Russell, see the article on "Chequers Court and Calcutta" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 155 to 158.

The abrupt ending of the narrative will be noticed. There is no sequel to be found in the Orme MSS. and no indication is given of the identity of the "Adventurer," or of the manner in which the document came into Orme's possession. The writing is that of the copyist who transcribed all the volumes of MSS. known as India I, II, and so forth: and neither a second copy nor the original appears in the other series of papers known as O. V. which contain original or second copies of certain of the MSS.

H. E. A. C.

*Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta
in the Government of Mr. Russell
and went to the Moors then
fighting at Hughley.*

[1259] The 26th [November, 1712] being clear we had sight of the low land and the paps of Banja (1) making in two round hommocks of no extraordinary altitude bearing N at 12 had sight of a Porger (2) Up the River. standing over the braces (3) to the westward, but came to an anchor on the latter end of the Ebb.

At 2 we weighed with the tide of flood and wind at SWBS, steering N and NBE and NE little or no wind which obliged us to get the long boat a head and give her a tow our water, we deepen'd to $3\frac{1}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4; at nine we anchored in the little Swatch (4) in $4\frac{1}{4}$ we saw several fishing boats on the brace to the number of 25 or 30, the winds hung so much in the N Eastern quarter that compell'd us to desist from passing over the other Brace (5) being forc'd to take our passage to the northward through the Junery channel (6); Friday the 28th were abreast of the Barrabullas (7) the land being low and even with some trees scattering, to the northward of which is the opening of Ingaley river being bounded on the opposite side by an island of the same name (8): the opening is indifferent broad, and a good channel up to the town.

We keep turning up with the flood the wind being at N and by eight were abreast of the buoy on the Barrabulla head; we shot up still to the north-

(1) The "paps of Banja" are shown in Thornton's Chart of 1703 as lying on the left hand shore just above the "river Bitecool" (Beercool).

(2) *Porger*—otherwise *porgo*: probably a corruption of the Portuguese word *barca* or *barco*, which was the term used for any kind of sailing boat by early Portuguese visitors to the East: cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *porgo*. In a MS account by T. B. [ateman] quoted by Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam* (p. 266: 1669): we find the following: "A *Purgoo*: These Vse for the most part between Hugly and Pyplo and Ballasore; with these boats they carry goods into Ye Roads on board English and Dutch ships, they will liue a long time in ye sea, being brought to anchor by ye Sterne, as their Vsual way is."

(3) The "Western or Outer Braces" are shown in Thornton's Chart as a large sandbank projecting from the coast just by the "paps of Banja."

(4) *The Little Swatch*: "The Swatch of No Ground" lay just off the delta. It is described by Fergusson in his paper on Recent Changes in the Delta of the Ganges (*Quarterly Journal Geol. Soc.* August 1863) as "a great depression or hole in the middle of the Bay of Bengal." Thornton's Chart does not give it; unless it be indicated as "The Little Bason" and "The Great Bason." There is a similar "Swatch" off the delta of the Indus.

(5) *The Other Brace*—The Eastern or Inner Braces.

(6) *The Junery Channel*—This is not to be found in Thornton's Chart: and there is no mention of it in Mr. Barlow's notes.

(7) *The Barrabullas*—These sands are not shown on the modern Survey Map. But John Ritchie's map of 1770 places them in lat. 21 40 between Saugor island and the western shore. They are marked on Thornton's chart, which also gives "Kitesall or Barabulla Trees" on the western shore. (Kitesall or Kittysol = umbrella).

(8) *Ingaley river and island*: shown as "Kedgelie" in Thornton's Chart. The modern Hijli in Midnapore district. The "Long Wood" is duly marked, just at the entrance to the "Kedgelie" or Rasoolpoor river.

ward, and at 9 came to an anchor off the long wood on Ingaley island in 5 fathom having the buoy on the middle ground in sight bearing NEBE two leagues.

The wind standing still at N at 4 post meridian we weighed but were hardly under sail ere we made a ship at an anchor being N $\frac{1}{2}$ E Dist. two leagues, by 5 were abreast of Kedgery river (9), it appears indifferent broad with two low points at its entrance Vizt. Ingaley and Kedgery islands, when you have brought this point to bear NE then you are out of the buoy on the long sand in 5 and 6 fathom water; off the mouth of this river lieth Cuckolley sand (10) about two miles in length, it appears dry at low water, between which and Ingaley island is a good channel in 5 and 6 fathom water.

By eight we were up with the ship and making about an hour's sail more to the northward, when we anchored in 4 fathoms; we sent our boat on board her, as did they likewise a Willock (11) to us; she proved an Armenian by name St. Pedro. bound to Fort St. George, Cojey Surratt (12) a merchant and prime factor of that nation resident in Calcutta, paid us a visit in the aforesaid Willock and brought with him his musick consisting of a Georgian violin, two small Kettle drums and the like number of Hautboys with which he entertained us; the instruments were costly and of curious workmanship, to the violin the drums were added in concert, assisted with the voice of the musicians, whose ill tun'd notes and imperfect cadence made most lamentable discord.

[2160] When they had sufficiently persecuted our ears with this melodious piece of concise harmony, the hautboys went to work; one running up to the pitch of double Gamut whilst the other served as a drone, they playing upon them with such vehemency and force, which beating upon the drum of my ear so benumm'd my senses that I could hear nothing than the

(9) *Kedgery river and island*: The modern Kedgerree.

(10) *Cuckolley sand*—Cowcolly (Geonkhali).

(11) "*Willock*" or "*Woolock*" was a species of boat. It is mentioned in Hedges' Diary (1683: Vol. I. p. 76) where it is spelled "Olock." Colesworthy Grant gives a drawing of one in his *Rural Life in Bengal* (p. 25) and calls it "the bulky Oolak, or baggage boat of Bengal."

(12) *Khojah Israel Serhaud* was the nephew of Khoja Phanoos Calandar, an Armenian merchant of Ispahan who obtained a trade charter from the East India Company in 1688, and also permission to erect a church "in any garrison cities or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies." In the cemetery attached to the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth in Calcutta is the tombstone (discovered in 1894 by Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth) of "Rezabeebeh, the wife of the late charitable Sookeas," who died on July 11, 1630: so that the Armenian settlement in Calcutta must have been long antecedent to the arrival of Job Charnock in 1690. Khojah Serhaud was instrumental in securing for the English from Azim-us-shan, the grandson of Aurungzebe, in 1698, permission to rent the three villages of Govindpore, Suttanuttee and Calcutta, for a payment of Rs. 16,000 annually. He also accompanied John Surman's mission to Delhi as interpreter in 1715. William Hamilton, "Chyrurgeon," was also of the party and died at Calcutta, after his return, on December 4, 1717. "His Memory," says his tombstone in St. John's Churchyard, "ought to be dear to this Nation, for the credit he gained Ye English in curing Ferruckseer, ye present king of Indostan, of a Malignant Disorder": for his fee was the "Grand Firman" which confirmed the purchase of the three villages.

discharge of a demi culverin; they kept us up pretty late, and about 2 in the morning returned aboard their ship in order to proceed on their voyage.

Saturday the 29th of November we weigh'd with the morning flood, and stood Thwart the river EBN on the back of the Gillingam (13) in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom and $4\frac{1}{4}$ leaving the buoy on our star-board, by seven came up with Channel Creek or Jesora river, (14) it hath a wide open mouth being a good channel down to Chittygong, the shores on each side being a wilderness of trees; on its northern shore is a strong ripling, which whether occasion'd by a shelf, or the meeting of two tides I am not certain; here we pass'd two sloops at anchor, the one a Dutch, the other French.

We turned up the channel having from eight fathom to two and a foot 'till we came the length of Rangafulla, (15) where at eleven we came to an anchor the flood being spent; here we found lying the Mary and Darby two Company's ships bound for Europe.

The tide coming in at seven we weighed and shot up to the northward to pass the narrows of Gillingam, but when we came the length of Rangafulla river, the meeting of the two tides shot us full ashore on the northern point; it proved a steep bank we having 4 fathom on our larboard side and but two feet in the main chains of our starboard; we were now got into the woods, the trees hanging as thick within board and over our heads as if we were in an harbour, one great tree more especially under our keel about mid-ships on which she sat.

We were now in hurry and confusion, fearing as the tide fell she would overset she heeling pretty well to port; we got out long spars of wood to tend her off, but it would not do, she having the shore so close aboard that you might have stepp'd on shore without so much as being wetshod.

When the hurry was pretty well over the Captain advised to fire guns as in distress, that the Mary and Darby's boats might come to our assistance, they lying within hear; but the pilot was for heaving her off ourselves and having the advantage of a fine moon light night we got our stream anchor and cable into the long boat, and carried it out on our quarter, and having well mann'd the Capstern soon hove her off.

The river is large and navigable; boats going down by this stream to Chitigong as well as by the former, it flowing from the sea upwards; we presently shot clear up the channel till [2161] about 9 when we past the Kent lying at an anchor, off Roages river (16) and half an hour after anchored in

(13) *The Gillingam Sand or Grand Middle Ground* lies just above Kedgerree in the centre of the channel. Mr. Barlow conjectures Gillingam or Gillingham to be a corruption of "Jilinga."

(14) *Channel Creek or Jesora river*—on the eastern shore is still known by the former name.

(15) *Rangafulla*: a creek on the eastern bank: "The Tengra Creek above the existing Rangafulla Obelisk is still considerable enough for boats" (Barlow, 1887).

(16) "*Rogue's River*" was the name given by Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to one of the Sunderbund channels joining the lower Hooghly river from the eastward. It was so-called from the Arakan rovers, sometimes Portuguese and sometimes

7 fathom water; next morning at six came to sail, working up the channel on the starboard side of the Diamond sand in 8, 10, 12, and 13 fathom water; then shoaling to 4 and 5 we pass'd Cuckold's point (17) and by 12 were up with the Danes town, (18) a few scattering hovels, then past (Tomberlee) (19) lying on the So. side of a river of that name, by others Ganges, opposite to which lieth Hughley Point, and in the fare way a sand called the James and Mary, of which ships ought to be careful (20).

Thus having pass'd the most remarkable dangers of which care ought to be taken to avoid them, we continued tiding it up nothing of note occurring 'till we came the length of Tana, (21) a great town on the larboard side of the river, having for its defence a large brick fort to the river, with four round bulwarks; through the embrasures of which look'd 4 or 5 iron culverins, tho' what store of guns they have to the land board I am not certain.

Muggs from Chittagong, whose ships lay in the creek and watched for plunder. Mr. Barlow observes: "The name 'River of Rogues' seems to have varied in specific application: sometimes given to a channel near Rangafulla, sometimes, perhaps, to Channel Creek, to Culpee Creek, or even to Chingri Khal." After careful comparison of all the references and of old and modern charts, Yule and Burnell (Hobson-Jobson) have come to the conclusion that the "Rogue's River" should be located at what is now called Chingri Khal, entering the river immediately below Diamond Harbour, or else at Culpee Creek, about six miles lower down. Capt. Alex. Hamilton (1727) describes "the first safe anchoring place" as "lying off the mouth of a River about 12 leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of Rogues River." Thornton calls it "R. Theves."

(17) *Cuckold's Point*—on the western shore: corresponding with the "Luff's Point" of modern charts (Barlow).

(18) *The Danes Town*: or Deans Town: on the western shore: not shown on Thornton's chart: but cf. Alex. Hamilton (1727, Vol. II, p. 3): "A little below the mouth of it (Ganga or Tumlook river) the Danes have a thatch House, but for what Reasons. . . . I never could learn." Mr. Barlow, who identifies "Deans Sand" as identical with the modern Hooghly Sand, quotes as follows from Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records*: "Consultation, Decr. 21, 1749. Received a letter from Capt. George Minchin, dated the 19th instant, from Deans Town, importing that he should distress the Morattoes to the utmost of his power, as he looked on the sloops to be in a state of defence sufficient to secure the men from the shot of the Morattoes: he intended to bring them close to the shore."

(19) *Tomberlee*—a corruption of Tumlook (the ancient port of Tamralipti) on the western shore. Alex. Hamilton calls the river which is now known as the Rupnarayan, "Ganga." It is shown as "R. Tomberlie" in Thornton's chart, with "Gonga Colle" (Geonkhali) just below.

Tomboles Point is now known as Mornington Point.

(20) *The James and Mary*: see article in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVI, pp. 83—91. The wreck of the vessel of that name took place in 1694. Owing to the absence of the name in Streynsham Master's diary (1676) and Davenport's sailing directions in the English Pilot of 1703, Mr. Barlow thinks that there must be an interpolation in Thornton's Chart. Some change took place (in his opinion) between 1684 and 1694 which set up this new danger to navigation.

(21) *Tana*—or Muckwah Thannah, was a Mahomedan outpost on the western shore built to protect the trade of the river. It was of brickwork and there was a mud fort on the opposite bank. (Ives. p. 101.) In Rennell's map it is shown as lying $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the modern Fort William and may be located just above the site of the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. According to Sir George King, there was a small creek here, running inland towards the great banyan tree, which even in these early days had attained a

On the north bounds of the castle stands the Chocky circumvolving of which they had flung up an intrenchment, and on the opposite side of the river lay the ruins of a battery flung up by a Gentew Raga, in order to demolish the castle in the Bengallian War, when the fort was taken from the Moors by an English agent, whose name I have forgot, tho' after restored to them when the peace was concluded.

Having passed this piece of defence with a fine easy gale near two leagues we opened Calcutta our desired port; it gratifying us with a most agreeable prospect which when we were come its length we dropt anchor before the fort, saluting the garrison with 7 guns, who returned us the like compliment.

I shall not here enter into a description of the remarkables of Calcutta, seeing my abode of 4 days there hath not furnish'd me with a sufficient supply, but shall only inform you, on my arrival I paid my respects to the governor (John Russel Esqr.) to tender him an offer of my service, which he told me he would take into his consideration, upon which taking my leave I repaired to my brother officers of the military, who entertained me with abundance of civility, among them was my good friend captain Hercules Courtney, a gentleman [2162] that had been very serviceable to the Company in the wars at fort St. David, but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass, he coming hitheir for employ, but meeting with disappointments, laid hold of the opportunity of going up to Hugley, where the Moors were embroiled in a war, he entering into the

considerable size. Tannah Fort or Chocky (chauki) was taken by Job Charnock ("the English agent whose name I have forgot") in 1687 and destroyed by Clive and Watson on January 1, 1757. The following quotation from the log of H.M.S. Kent under date of January 1, 1757 is given in Sir Henry Yule's notes to Hedges' Diary (Hakl. Sec. 1889, Vol. III, p. ccxv): "The Tyger's Seamen took possession of Tanner's Fort which the enemy had abandoned and our boats took the Fort on the opposite side, hoisted English colours and set fire to them both." Ives. (p. 101) states that 40 cannon were found in the two Forts, many of them 20 pounders. Streynsham Master wrote of the place in 1676: "In Tannah stands an old ffort of mud walls wch was build to prevent ye incursion of the Arracaners, for it seems about ten or twelve years since they were soe bold that none dare inhabit lower down the river than this place, the Arracaners usually taking the people of the shoares to sell them at Tiple" (query, Pipli: but hardly Tipera as suggested by Yule). Tannah Reach was the scene in 1759 of a smart action between the Dutch and the English which is thus described in "Asiaticus: in Two Parts" (1803 edition):

Seven Dutch ships, one of 36 guns, three of 26 guns and three of 22, 20, and 18 guns, arrived in the river with Troops from Batavia, amongst whom were 400 Malays. They came up to the Lower End of Tannah Reach, where the Troops were landed and were to march up to Calcutta. There were only three Company's ships at Calcutta of 26 guns each, which were fitted for the occasion. They attacked the Dutch ships, and, after a hard-fought battle in which the Dutch lost many men, four were taken: the other three retreated down the river, but were afterwards stopped and taken possession of. In this engagement we had only two wounded."

One of these, Captain Forrester, subsequently died. The battle of Biderra (between Ghirety House and Chandernagore) followed: and ended in the total defeat of the Dutch by Colonel Francis Forde.

service of Juda Con (22) managed the face of affairs so well that it much enlarged his credit, receiving from the Nabob several rich presents for his good service, tho' not so much as was before promised him, upon which in a disgust he left them, and was but lately arrived at Calcutta.

Three days being expired, I went to know his honours mind, who ingenuously told me he had no vacancy, all his commissions being full, otherwise he would give me service; but advised me to go home
 Mr. Russel, Governor of Calcutta. on board one of the Europe ships, I answered I had not a husedred Pagodas to pay for my passage and seeing I could not now go home to my friends handsomely, I was resolved to stay in India till I could, or necessity forced me to the contrary; so would have taken my leave of the governor but he calling me back would oblige me seeing he had not service for me to give him my word of honour I would not take up service under the Moors; I answered I might as well give him the same that I would receive no sustenance for a twelvemonth, for seeing as in duty bound I had first made proffers of service to my country, which they not accepting I held myself no longer obliged, but was at my free liberty to go take service where I pleased, so that those whom I served were no enemies to my King and Country.

He replied all this is reasonable, but then these nations among whom we dweli being ignorant of the law of arms, and the recourse of Englishmen to side with either party might be detrimental to the Company's affairs.

I returned his honour was only capable of remedying the ills that might thereby accrue, and that to sustain this mortal body bread was required, which if the Company would not give me I should (with his honour's leave) go to them that would; so accordingly taking my leave I went to inform Captain Courtany of my success, who advised me by all means to go up to Hugley, and take service under the Emmer of Bengal (23), giving me his word if nothing of consequence interposed he would be soon up after me; we passed the time with various discourse upon that subject and at parting he gave me letters to Monsure Attrope, governor of the Danes factory at Gundulparra (24) who he told me was his friend.

I hired a Willock that evening, and taking with me my effects proceeded on my voyage; by sunsetting we got the length of Barnagur, and by nine arrived at Gundulparra; I [2163] sent my servant to desire admittance, who soon after returned with some others belonging to the factory informing me

(22) *Zeyau-d-din Khan*, the Imperial "Admiral and Governor" of Hughli.

(23) *The Emmer of Bengal*—The nominal Governor of Bengal was Azimu-sh-shan, the second son of the Emperor Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam) but he was away at Lahore, and was represented in the province by his son Farrukh-siyar, then a young man of twenty-eight, who succeeded to the imperial musnud in 1713 and was murdered in 1719. Azim-us-shan was killed in battle with his three brothers, after the death of Shah Alam in 1712.

(24) *Gundulparra*: The Danes settled about 1670 or thereabouts at Gondolpara, where the name Dinemardanga still survives: but abandoned the factory in 1714. Fredriksnagore, or Serampore, was founded in 1755.

the governor was up and desired my company, they accordingly conducting me upstairs into a large spacious chamber, where the governor received me very civilly; I delivered him my letters, which he reading soon made way for a discourse concerning the wars of Hugley; he expressed abundance of friendship to me on Capn. Cortney's account, but it being pretty late we retired to our repose.

The next morning getting up pretty early, I had the opportunity of viewing the factory, which is a pretty neat and compact pile of buildings, built fronting the river at a bow shot distance; on its banks are lin'd down a tier of iron culverins and sakers (25) for salutes, twenty or five and twenty in number, lying on the right hand of the landing place as you ascend the stupedety [sic] of the bank, from whence to the house is a fine walk underneath the umbarge of shady trees row'd on each side at equal distances; you enter the gate (which is large and spacious maintaining always a small guard) into a fine square Court, the factory house taking up the western side, the other three being run round with lodging rooms and warehouses fares on the top and considerably lower than the western building, the yard being divided into squares by a cross walk in the left hand; in your egress from the gate standeth the flag staff whereon is hoisted the standard of Denmark.

On the back side of the factory which consists but of two stories, is a pretty large garden indifferently handsome, abounding in sallading and sweet herbs, beans, pease and turnips; neither is it wanting in flowers, of which it hath variety, it is likewise adorned with a fine shady walk, and a noble large fishpond full of excellent fish, which swim in shoals upon the surface of the water; there is likewise a small sort of a bastion built at the NW corner of the garden, looking to Gondullparra tho' it hath no guns mounted thereon.

Having thus taken a view of the factory, I return'd to the governor who I found was just risen; we passed the morning away in a very affable manner; (he being a man of excellent parts, to a degree civil and courteous to strangers) and when dinner was ready we sat down to a plentiful table, in which shone the ancient hospitality of our English nobility who certainly received it from the Danes; no fantaetical kickshaws borrowed from our neighbours the French, but good hearty feeding cleanly dressed and well cook'd, and to wash down a cup of old Lubeck beer, to crown our felicity and welfare that I may truly say I never eat a meal with a better gust or with more saitsfaction in my life.

Having returned the governor my most humble thanks for the favours he had conferred upon me, he was pleased [2164] to give me two letters recom-

(25) *Culverins and Sakers*.—A culverin (Italian *colubro*) was a large cannon, very long in proportion to its bore. The length ranged from 10 to 13 feet, and the diameter of the bore from 5 to 5½ inches. The weight of the shot varied from 17 to 20 lbs. Names of reptiles were frequently applied to early cannon. A saker was an old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin, formerly much used in sieges and on ships. The word in this sense is a transferred use of saker = a large lanner falcon : cf. falconet, musket.

mandatory; (the one for the Emmer of Bengal, the other to Myn heer Hoffmaster the second of the Dutch factory at Chincura) I took my leave of him and embarked in my boat passing by a small ship and yacht belonging to the Danes, and by three in the afternoon was got the length of Chandurnagur the French factory, being distant from Gundullparra about a mile and quarter; the town is large and uniform, adorned with great numbers of good edifices, so is likewise the factory, which makes an agreeable prospect to the river.

We were now obliged to hawl over and keep the star-board shore on board for fear of the enemy; being got within gunshot of them, the Emmer of Bengal having three or four batteries on the starboard, as had likewise the Nabob Juda Con who was block'd up in Chandernagur on the larboard side of the river.

And here it will not be amiss to say something of the rise of this war as likewise of it's Briad [sic] which had an end whilst I was at Moexudbath (26).

Shallum the emperor (27) from a meaner station advanced ([blank]) who from Gentilism embraced Mahometism to the government of Bengal, creating him Annabob or vice roy among the Moors. Disturbances at Hughley thereof, changing his name (it being a mark of high honour) to that of Mursed Cola Con, but the death of Shawlam happening whilst he was in the government, the king's children broke out into an open war for the crown; Mursed Cola Con sided with Mosidean (28)

(26) *Moexudbath*—Maksudabad or Murshidabad. In 1710 Murshid Kuli Khan (see next note) moved the seat of government from Dacca to Maksudabad (which is said by Tieffenthaler to have been founded by Akbar) and gave the place his own name. He established a mint there and built a palace (Stewart, History of Bengal, 309).

(27) *Shallum* or *Shawlam*—Mozzam alias Bahadur Shah or Shah Alam, the second son of Aurungzebe, who succeeded his father in 1710 and died in 1712. There is some confusion here. It was Aurungzebe when Viceroy of the Deccan, who appointed Jafar Khan, otherwise known as Murshid Kuli Khan (Mursed Cola Con) to be his Dewan in 1656 and sent him to Bengal in 1704 as Treasurer and Deputy Governor. He occupied the de facto gadi of Kandahar to a representative of Shahjahan in 1638. Another account has it that he was the son of a poor Brahman who was adopted by a merchant of Ispahan and converted to Islam under the name of Haji Muhammad. Holwell's account of Murshid Kuli Khan is not flattering. (Interesting Historical Events relative to the Province of Bengal, 1766. Vol. I, pp. 52, 53).

In the reign of Furrukhsir Jaffir Khan, an Omrah of great consideration and interest at Court, ruled those provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) with a rod of iron. His name to this day is remembered with detestation: to fill his coffers he inflicted the most cruel punishments on the Rajahs and Zemindars, by ways and means unheard of and unknown, but in this Eastern Government. He also highly oppressed the Europeans settled in these parts: yet notwithstanding his very maladministration, he had the address to obtain the governments of Behar and Orissa, united with that of Bengal in his person: which ever before had been distinct and separate Nabobship. With this new acquisition of power he removed from Dacca: which until that time had been the chief residence of the Soubahs, to Morshadabad: and this city now became the capital of the provinces.

(28) *Mosidean*—Muazoddin, the eldest son of Shah Alam: took the title of

the eldest, and whilst they managed the war in Industan he sends for Juda Con Nabob of Ballasore, and governor of Hugley, to bring in his rents received as part of the king's revenues, that he might make his accounts up to the King, seeing he could not tell that money was brought in.

Upon which Juda Con goes to the Anabob at Moxudbath and takes along with him Kingcarson, (29) his Banian or rent gatherer, informing him that they would deliver in no money 'till there was a new king establish'd; others will have it that the Annabob offering a daughter in marriage to Juda Con he refused the proposals, because the Annabob had been a servant under his father; but be it how it will, he was scarce got down to Hugley, ere Holy beg (30) was sent down to take from him his government and to declare war, upon which Juda Con fortifies himself on the north boundaries of Chandurnagur, flinging up several batteries to the river ward and land board, mounting thereon between 50 and 60 guns, mostly between sixteen and eighteen pounders.

Collbeg Con the elder brother of Holy Beg, being general of the horse marches into the field, and encamps to the westward of Chandarnagur, blocking up that side, and sends another strong detachment to the other side of the river to lie in those batteries; Holy Beg keeping in the castle at Hugley; the batteries that were flung up to dismount the artillery on [2165] those Juda Con had raised, were taken from them by Captain Courtney, he driving them the same time into the castle, upon the news of which Mursed Cola Con recalls Holy Beg from his command, and sends down the Emmer of Bengal to carry on the war.

The Emmer being come to his command with 1,000 horse and 6,000 foot, encamps before Chandernagur, giving (tho' I believe by the Hanabob's order) all the European soldiers into the charge of a rascally Padre of the Augustin order; of which more hereafter; he lay before it a considerable time, but did nothing having several misfortunes attending him, as a mutiny among his men, three hundred horse going from him together; but upon the promise of two months pay advance they came back; he lay about two months longer before it, when the confirmation came of Forixears (31) being King, he took the opportunity of a dark night accompanied with two others in the habit of Fuckears (i.e. Country beggars) and secretly departed from the army, who in the morning finding their general gone, disbanded, and thus far as to the war of Hugley.

Jahandar Shah on succeeding to the throne in 1712 and was murdered the following year. Holwell's "Mauz o' din."

(29) *Kingcarson*—not identifiable under this disguise. The "Anabob at Moxudbath" is, of course, Murshid Kuli Khan.

(30) *Holy Beg*—Wali Beg. *Collbeg Con*, his brother, is not identifiable. In 1711 Zeyau-d-din was deprived of his office in accordance with the representations of Murshed Kuli Khan, and Wali Beg was placed in charge of Hugly.

(31) *Forixear*—Farrukh Siyar. "A good-for-nothing and shameless debauchee" who "established a state of terror in the court by his savage fury" (Vincent Smith).

To return; being come to the Chinchury, (32) I landed and went to Mynheer Hoffmaster, who was extreme civil, desiring me to make use of his house as my home, till such time as I was settled, and very obligingly ordered his Palankeen to carry me to the Emmer of Bengal, it being a league to the place where he lay encamp'd.

When I came to the camp I was strangely surprised to see in what confusion they had pitched their tents, being quite destitute of form and order, without any respect or precedence in persons, the general being near the center of the Camp, with a large markees rount it, in the front were advanc'd five or six standards of a triangular form; some azure, others argent, charged with a ball gules; in this manner were they encamped horse and foot confused together without any marshalling or discipline among them.

Being arrived at the generals tent, I alighted and after making myself slipshod, conforming to the custom of the country, I was conducted to the Emmer who I found sitting cross legged smoking his hubble bubble, and round him a great number of officers; I paid him my Salam and having seated myself for me to discourse the matter privately; he asked me when Captain Courtney would come up, I answered I believed in 4 or 5 days, he had me write and assure him of twenty thousand rupees when the wars were over, the one half to be deposited in the hands of Monseer Attroop, and the other in the hands of Mynheer Hoffmaster; as to my business he proffered me the command of One hundred Europeans, and one hundred rupees Pr [2166] Month; after which treating me with some very good Madeira wine in a China sneaker, (33) which surprised me knowing it is forbidden in their law and by most Moors held as an abomination; but I supposed the Dutch imposed it upon them, or else design'd it a present for the general, to solace himself with in private when freed from the censorious remarks of the more stricter sort of musselmen.

Having taken leave I departed to the Chinchura, where at my arrival I found my new friend Hoffmaster with some more Dutch gentlemen at supper, he kindly chid me for staying so long, and after I had excused myself, I sat down and joined the society, after supper we settled to drinking and smoking, having variety of wines to intice the appetite, at which excess we continued till it was pretty late, then the guests breaking up I was lighted to my repose.

I stay'd at Mynheer Hoffmaster the space of a fortnight being very civilly intreated, in which time I wrote to Captain Courtney and received letters from him, wherein he informed me of the troubles he was in at Calcutta, the governor designing to impede his voyage up by sending him to Madrass least

(32) *The Chinchury*—Chinsurah. The first Dutch factory adjoined the English factory at Hooghly and was established in 1650. It was swept away by floods and a new factory was built at Chinsurah in 1656.

(33) *Sneaker*—a large cup with a saucer and cover: called *Sinigar* by Indian servants from a fancied derivation from Sini "Chinaware," but in reality a word of genuine English origin. See quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* (s.v.) from the *Spectator* and Fielding's "Jonathan Wild."

he should come to the assistance of the Emmer of Bengal, which as I afterwards heard he effected.

Having taken leave of my friend I went wholly to the Emmer of Bengal, who gave me an order to go and receive my men from the Padre on the morrow, who hearing of my being in the camp sent his Palankeen and his servant desiring me to come and take up my quarters with him, where he had provided a chamber for me, assuring me how proud he would be to serve me; I could not withstand all this civility (tho' I had been pretty well informed of the villanous actions committed by the ecclesiasticks of the Church of Rome) but went into the Palankeen and was carried to the Convent where the father stood ready to receive me in a square taris (34) yard before the door of the priory, I paid him my respects due to his holy function, who returned my complimnet with abundance of civility; we entered the church hand in hand into the father's apartment, and down we sat to solace ourselves with a bottle, the wine being come and he desiring me to be free, telling me every thing I saw there was my own, we began to discourse of affairs, at every word it was brother Captain and brother Captain, he desiring me not to remember his spiritual function 'till such time as I saw him administer at the high altar, solemnly protesting he would be himself in the then (sic) sending for his sword and blunderbuss, he shewed me his weapons of offence.

The wine not proving extraordinary, being thick and muddy to oblige so dear a friend as I was, he sent for a case bottle of that which was better, telling me it was the holy wine with which he administered the Sacrament, of which we drank [2167] plentifully, and in it the father drank damnation to the enemy, but I having a little more grace than the bishop would not pledge it, which another Portuguese Captain did very cordially saying they were Mahometans and therefore deserved to be damned; the priest then drank a health to St. George, and to return the compliment I drank another to St. Augustin, which so obliged the father who was of that order that he would needs prove them a kin to one another, and at last did conclude and really believe them to be Cousin Germans.

Then was brought out a draught of Juda Con's batteries, taken upon the place by another holy father in disguise, and we then entered into a close consultation about storming them; at last it was agreed between us, that father should march down to the Chinchera, and so along the river side at the head of two hundred men, and storm two batteries the one of six, the other four guns, and I to march with a hundred and fifty men against Molatrusoms (35), a battery of seven guns, and two small batteries adjoining of 3 and 2 guns; but then at proper distance from the enemies works I was to form a detachment of 50 of my men to amuse another battery and so draw off the enemy to the defence of that whilst I entered with my men,

(34) *Taris*—Obsolete form of "Terrace."

(35) *Molatrusoms*—This is entirely baffling.

which when the detachment seeing were to rejoin me; and the Emmer of Bengall with his army was to attack that part towards Chandernagur; thus when we had made ourselves masters of their works, we were to turn the guns on the enemy, and the next day to take the Nabob prisoner.

Thus had the father laid out the work, and after this manner was Chandarnager to be taken; so eager was the friar in pursuing the design that (altho' it was pretty late) he would not give himself respite till the morrow, but must needs shew me into the armoury, where were military weapons enough to arm six hundred men complete with Carbine, bayonet and granado; besides a vast number of stink pots, and a most barbarous sort of Partizan, (36) the blades being near six inches broad and upwards of sixteen long, these were all new lately made by his order, he keeping 4 or 5 forges continually going in his yard, so that he hath in a manner quite turned the church into an arsenal; from hence the father conducted me to my chamber, and very lovingly wish'd me a good repose.

But see the transitory changes of things in this world, rising next morning and going to the father, not doubting but to meet him in the same cheerful humour he had so loving caressed me over night with, but on the contrary found him so crabbed and cross that he would hardly vouchsafe me an answer, I ask'd him for my men, he told me he'd give me none; I shew'd him my authority, he said he cared not for it, I ask'd for his Palankeen to go to the Emmer of Bengal in, he told me I might go on foot; and so brother Capt. and brother Capt. parted.

[2168] I was so highly provok'd with this usage, that I told my resentment to the Emmer in the most agreeable manner I could, but had not half finish'd ere the father arrived; I rallied him pretty handsomely before the general, telling him it became not his function to appear in arms, it was downright perjuring himself in the second vow of his order, that my profession was the sword which I would freely lend him if he would leave with me as a pledge his hood and mass book, he then might go on in his designs, and gorge himself in the blood of those he so eagerly thirsted after.

I found the fryar was extremely nettled, but he having the Moor's tongue flunt, talk'd a considerable time to the Emmer, tho' what he said I know not, but the Emmer would by all means make us friends before we parted, and accordingly taking the father's hand and mine in his own, he join'd them together, and I freely forgave the priest, but would not go with him home (tho' the Emmer desired, and I excused it) least he should give some more of his Sacrament wine, or else clap me into the inquisition.

The Emmer ordered me then a large brick house in the Bandell, and a horse or palankeen constantly to attend me, sending me at meal time Pelows (37) and rich serbets, that I lived with great satisfaction, but nothing coming

(36) *Partisan*—A long-handled spear, the blade of which had one or more lateral cutting projections.

(37) *Pelows*—pilau. "The most admired Dainty wherewith they stuff themselves is Pullow."—John Fryer, M.D. "A New Account of India" (London 1698: p. 393).

in, and I constantly putting him in mind of his promise he fairly told me that he could not take any men from the Padra by reason that the Dewan had made him paymaster and commander-in-chief of the Christian soldiers; but altho' I had no men and same singly to him without a company, yet he would take care of me; and allow me the same as if I had, and that if I could raise any Europeans that were not in the fryar's service he would allow them 35 rupees Pr month; all this past and I set up for recruiting, when all the Europeans in general, whereof there were not a few of my countrymen came, desiring me to head them, they not caring to serve under the Portugueze Captains with whom they were placed but wanted a commander of their own nation; but I told them Gentlemen I understand that you are upon the Padre's books, and therefore will have nothing to do with you 'till such time as you are clear from his service, but those that are not concerned with the priest and have received no money from him, if they are willing to enter I will willingly entertain them, and thus I dismissed them from my lodgings.

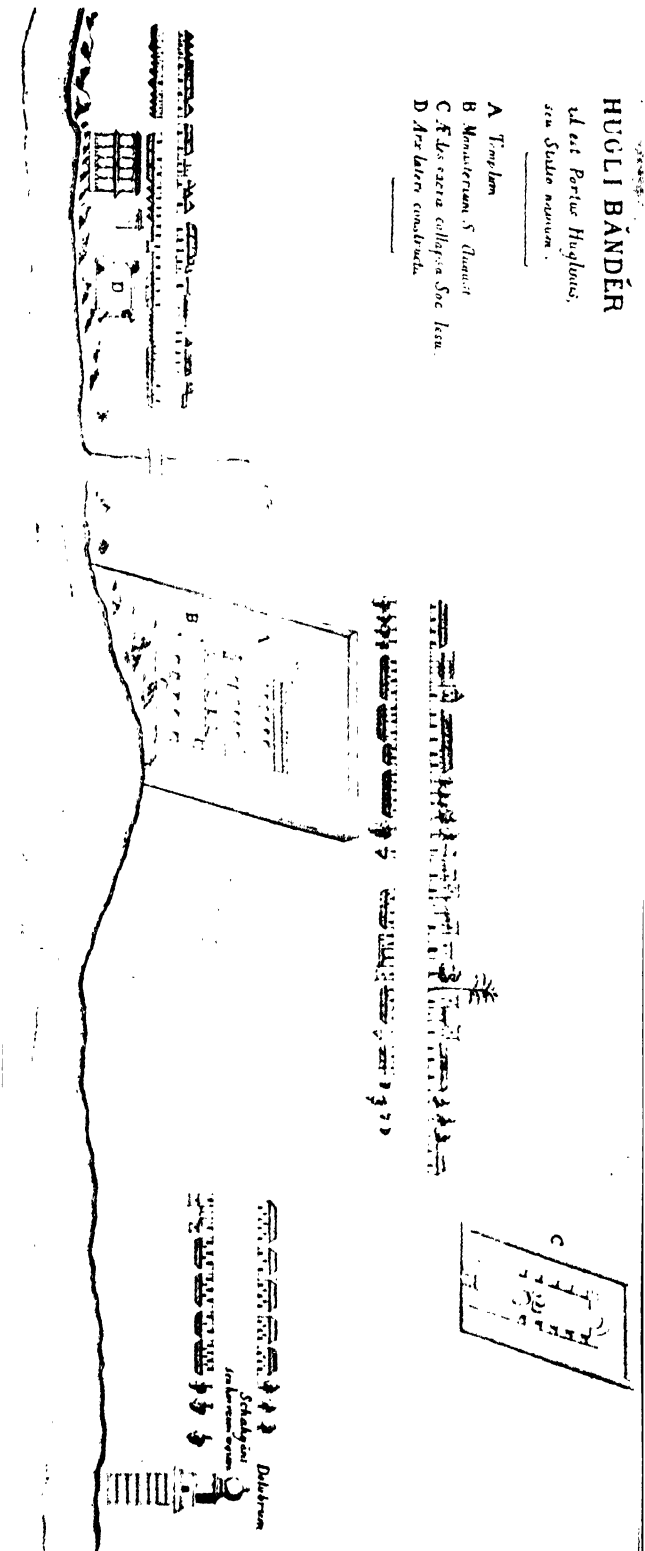
Whilst I was thus recruiting an accident and misfortune attended me through the instigation of the father which was as followeth; one evening walking out with a friend to refresh ourselves, we called in at the Church of the Paulistans and paid a visit to the father who was of the order of Jesus; he shewed us the church and what was else deserving remark, (38) after which we took our leaves and thank'd him for his civility, we were hardly got three stones cast from the Convent, but a [2169] black rascally Portugueze brush'd up along by me, and with a jerk snatch'd the sword from my side, the hilt being silver and something valuable, I immediately turned round to pursue the villain and was unexpectedly knock'd down with a blunderbuss, but getting up again as well as I could, was immediately surrounded with 12 or 13 men, and among them the rascal that had my sword,

(38) *The Church of the Paulistans*—The Jesuit Fathers were known as Paulistans from their great College of São Paulo de Santa Fe at Goa. According to Father H. Hosten, S.J., who has examined the matter with much care, the Jesuit house at Hooghly never rose to be more than a small "collegium" or residence, with two or three Fathers and occasionally a lay brother. The last Rector, Father George Deistermann, S.J., died in 1740. Abbate Ripa, who came to Hooghly in 1709, describes the church as very pretty. Father Francisco Laynes, S.J., the fifth Bishop of Mylapore, was buried before the High Altar in 1715. At the time of the visit of Father J. Tieffenthaler, S.J. in 1765, the College was in ruins, and is so indicated in his plan ("Aedes sacra collapsa Soc. Jesu"). "To the N. W.", he writes in his *Description de l'Inde*, "on the very bank of the river a Church and a Convent of the Augustinians may be seen. Going further from there, on the same side, and turning to the W., another Church may be found, dedicated to our Lady, but to-day nearly completely ruined. Of the buildings inhabited by the Jesuits nothing whatever remains." The author of "Asiaticus" in *Two Parts* (1803) avers that the foundations of the "Cathedral Church of St. Paul" were to be seen in his day. (The Jesuit Church was, in point of fact, never a Cathedral and was dedicated to our Lady of the Nativity). There are now no traces of either Church or College, but the connexion of the Jesuits with Hooghly, which began in 1640, is perpetuated by the São Paulo garden which is in the possession of the Augustinian Fathers of the Bandel Convent. (See articles by Father Hosten in *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. VI. at p. 218: Vol. X. pp. 64—70: Vol. XXVI, Part I at p. 77).

HUGLI BANDÉR

id est Portus Hugliensis;
 seu Sotio nigrum.

- A Templum
- B Monasterium S. Augusti
- C F. de sacra collata Soc. Iren.
- D Arx Iren. constructa



PLAN OF HUGLI BANDER.—1765.

(From Father J. Tiefenthaler's "Description de L'Inde.")

which being willing to recover I made up to him, but he having a pistol in the other hand snapp'd it at me, but it not going off I presently run in with him and grappled ere he could have time to recover and cock it, but I was soon made to lose my hold by a fellow behind who knock'd me down with a firelock, which with the blow broke over my head, I had them upon me then thick and three fold banging and basting me most nobly, till such time as the fellow was gone off with the sword, and then they also march'd off in a body; my friend who had stood by all the while begging them for God's sake not to kill me, without ever coming to my assistance I was going to fall foul of, had he not pacified me with good words. telling me it was better as it was, for if a sword had been drawn in my defence, one or both had certainly been murdered, it being impossible to resist so many.

They being all Portugueze soldiers belonging to the father, to him I made my complaint desiring justice and my sword again, which he promis'd me I should have on the morrow, and that they should be severely punished for the riot; but he was not so good as his word for I never saw the sword after, but on the contrary was credibly inform'd it was done by the Padre's orders.

By this time I had raised 29 or 30 men, which having entered on the roll I carried them before the Emmer of Bengall, who approving them gave me orders to return to the father and receive their advance money, he being paymaster of all the Europe men in general; I accordingly went and when I came there, the father told me he had no money for my men, but that the Emmer had inform'd him he designed to pay them himself as a separate Company; the next day I went to the Emmer and told him what the father had said, who seemed troubled in his countenance and told me he never mentioned any such thing but had given him positive orders to pay them, and thereupon remanded me back to him again.

Being come to my lodgings I dismissed my men to their several quarters, and sent my servant to inform the father I would wait on him after dinner, which being ended I accordingly went, having three of my men along with me tho' none of them armed, nor was I myself any more than my sword; [2170] when I came to the Convent I found the father at cards with some of his Portugueze Captains, there being a concourse of them sitting round a great table.

I told him I came for money, and that I was sent with a positive order to be paid my advance that evening, he told me he would pay me no money unless I brought an order from the Dewan who was the Emmer of Bengal's master; and thereupon gave me scurrilous language, which so highly provoked me that I called the fryar an old designing rogue, which intolerable indignity flung in the face of a father of the church, letting fly the reins of an ungovernable passion, up they rose upon me one and all, crying kill the dog; vast numbers of others came flocking from all parts of the Convent to assault me, so that in an instant I had ninety or a hundred drawn swords against me at once.

The father had run into his chamber to fetch his weapons of war, who presently appeared at the head of three other fryars in the robes of their order, all armed with sword and target.

Mean while a Portugeze making a cut at my head, it was fended off by one of my men receiving it half through his cane, and the Padra going to second the blow I grasp'd his sword in my hand, which he drawing through gave me a small mark to remember him.

I had presence of mind enough to consider if I had but made an offer to draw, I should have been cut down ere my sword could be free from the scabbard, seeing I was hemm'd round with such a multitude and several tugging to get it from me, I easily loos'd my hold and let them take it being sensible the doctrine of nonresistance was most proper at the present juncture; when they found they had disarmed me they were pretty easy, and then were for pushing me out of the Church head foremost; when I came into the porch I sent in to the father, desiring the restoring of my sword promising to be the author of no disturbance with it, had it accordingly sent me; I went home and bound up my hand, and had not been reposed above two hours when news was brought me that the Padre had sent for all my men, and told them if they would relinquish my service and take arms under him he would immediately pay them which all but five accepted of, being forced thereto (as several of them told me after) by necessity, and thus was I baulk'd of my Company.

Having seriously reflected on these misfortunes and having secret information that the father design'd me a dose, I began to have some thoughts to-
Description of the Chin-wards travel, and to see what I could do elsewhere, churah and Hugley. which I accordingly concluded on, but before I proceed I shall say something concerning the Chinchura, Hugley, Golgutt and the Bandell, and then proceed onwards with my voyage.

The Chinchura or Dutch settlement is bounded on the north by Hugley, and on the south by Chandernagore, on [2171] the east it hath the river, and on the west lieth open to the country; it is a large town chequer'd with diversity of streets, and a multitude of good buildings, the factory stands at the south end and is the residence of the Directore, who is the principal factor the Dutch have in Bengal, having under him several out factories, as those of Cassimbuzar, Dacca, Rogiomall, and Patna; the factory is large and encompass'd round with a very high wall, on the NW corner of which is a sort of a bastion whereon are guns mounted, and in the center of the front curtain a large port which maintains a guard, here belonging a company of soldiers with their respective officers for the defence of the place and from the port to the river a noble broad walk raised, lined on each side with a lofty row of stately trees, at the end thereof is the flagstaff.

The river is thus high navigable with the tide for ships of 6 or 700 tons burthen they riding before the factory in 8 and 10 fathom water; it is seldom without Europe shipping notwithstanding the effects they yearly export to Batavia; the next remarkable is the Dutch repository to the westward of the

factory, being a large square place inclosed with a brick wall, full of tombs in variety of forms, some large others of a smaller magnitude, but mostly ruinate.

Hugley is a large populous city and Moors garrison seated in the Latitude of ([blank]) degrees ([blank]) minutes north; the houses but indifferent as in most places of the Eastern globe, but the merchants make in some measure a more splendid appearance, whose shops are splendidly set out with all sorts of rich and costly commodities.

The great Buzar or main street is of most remark extending near three-quarters of a mile, you enter it from the Chinchery through two large gateways including in the vacancy a square buiding running from gate to gate serving formerly as stables for the horse belonging to the garrison, and in the center or midway between the gates a small mosque, tho' it is as well as the whole building in general mostly ruinate.

In the northermost of these two ports was posted a company of Europe soldiers in the late wars, mostly upon the merchants account, they keeping guard and shutting up their gates every night at the usual hours, though they were but of small defence to them being inch and half plank and made to turn upon wooden hinges.

From the port all the remaining length of the street is the Buzar furnish'd on each side with stalls and shops well furnish'd and stock'd with a universality of commodities that the buyer may provide himself at all times with whatever his occasions require, as well European as Indian vendibles.

[172] At the upper end of the Buzar is situated the castle in a low sandy soil, being bounded to the eastward with the river, it is in form an irregular Pentagon of four round bulwarks, one angle having none, and hath two ports; the main is fronting to the Buzar, which is large and spacious, having two new intrenchments cast up without it in which are mounted a small number of patteraroes and murderers (39); the passage between the intrenchments is secur'd with a great chain, and in the port stands fronting the treet a large hoop gun as big as a demi cannon, tho' it carries a shot not above two inches and a half diameter; it is of the country make, being almost as thick at the bore as it is at the breech, compacted of a great number of iron hoops for the bore, then laid round with iron bars for the length of the gun, and lastly those bound over or cas'd with other hoops of the same metal all worked together at the forge, like the iron bars in a large anchor they being excellent artists at it, and by report they are very good proof.

They have another small battery or two on the rampier near the gate mounted with old demi culverin, and Saker; and likewise several long and swivel guns of the country make, some in carriages and some without lying down in the yard, tho' no other mounted on the works, the rampiers not being broad enough to admit them, yet there is a parapet cast up on the edge of

(39) *Patteraro*—or *Pedrero*, a small gun.

Murderer or *Morderer*—the name given to a small cannon or mortar of the period,

the rampier with loop holes for the bowmen and small arms; in the castle is a large yard or green, at the end of which is the governor's apartment, and a new edifice carrying on, which when finished will be a pretty compact dwelling, behind which is the other gate, small in comparison of the former, this lets towards the river where the slope or Talud is carried up much higher than in other places; the castle is seated pretty near the middle of the city, there being two other gates on it's northern limits, through which you pass to the Bandell.

Golgutt an English factory, (40) subordinate under Calcutta is seated in the city of Hugly on the banks of the river, it here forming itself into a Cove,

Description of Gulgutt, the English Factory in Hugley. being deep water ships riding 16 and 18 fathom not a stones cast off shore; being landed and ascended the bank you enter the factory through a large gate beautiful and adorned with pillars and cornishes in the Chanam work, and on the top of all is the flag staff fixed into the brick work whereon they hoist St. George's flag; being entered the gate you come into a small Court yard, on the right hand being a row of apartments, and on the left a Viranda for the guard; you ascend into the house by steps, having under it two square cellars with staircases to descend; the hall is indifferent large, besides two indifferent apartments with chimneys there are other rooms and closets in the house, the whole consisting but of one story.

Behind the house is a garden, in which grows nothing but weeds, in the middle is an ugly well, and at one corner [2173] upon the wall is built a round sort of a business like a sentry box, but much larger, you ascend it by a narrow Chenam staircase, which have no rails or fence to keep you from tumbling into the garden, and when entered you see nothing worth observation having a door but never a window tho' it yields an excellent echo, it being contrived as I have been informed as a magazine for powder.

At the end of the garden are the ruins of several apartments the roofs being fallen in, and indeed all the out-houses are in the like condition of which there are several; you may ascend to the top of the factory by an old wooden staircase which is well terras'd, with seats all round and a small oblong place included by its self, from whence you have a prospect of the river; to conlude it is an old, ugly, ill contrived edifice wherein is not the least spark of beauty, form, or order, to be seen, being seated in a dull melancholy hole enough to give one the Hippocondra by once seeing it; the Company have no factor at present that is resident here, being left in the charge of a Molly and two or three Punes, tho' in truth it is hardly worth looking after.

(40) *Golgutt*—The name survives in Gholghat, a locality in the centre of the town of Hooghly. The English factory was established in 1650, and after Charnock's migration to Calcutta (Suttanuttee) in 1690, became the headquarters of the "New" or "English" Company until its amalgamation with the old Company in 1704.

The Bandell I shall next describe and then conclude, it being the vilest, wickedest, and most profane spot of ground under the cope of heaven; All

Description of the Bandell. the sins that brought down vengeance from heaven

Sodom and Gomorrah are here daily and hourly practised without any detection or restraint, being a nest of banditti Portuguese who live without any manner of government, neither is one respected more than the other, but he that hath been guilty of the basest villany; shooting a man and stabbing him asleep are here accounted honourable actions, neither is it much to be wondered at were one but to reflect on the treacherous villanies that nation hath been so heinously guilty of these late years.

Being through the northern gate of Hugley you have a fine walk to the Bandell of about half a mile over a broad earth bank like a rampier flung up to keep the river which runs along side it from overflowing; being come into the town the first object that attacks the eye is the convent or priory belonging to the order of St. Augustin, (41) whereof Father Francisco Pereoe my old antagonist was incumbent; it is a large and spacious building, making a very agreeable prospect, being white washed and circumvolved with a brick wall including the ground for the repository, in a corner of which stands a flag staff belonging to the convent.

Adjoining is a large brick bridge of two or three arches standing over a dry dyke, (42) but in the rain times it serves to carry the water from off the higher grounds, the town hath several streets, and a great many very good houses in one of which I lived; there is another church dedicated to [2174] St. Paul belonging to the Jesuits order as I have before observed.

Sunday January the eleventh 1712/13 about 2 in the afternoon I embark'd in a willock which I had hired for Moxidbad, my boats crew consisting of about six rowers and a steersman besides my servants.

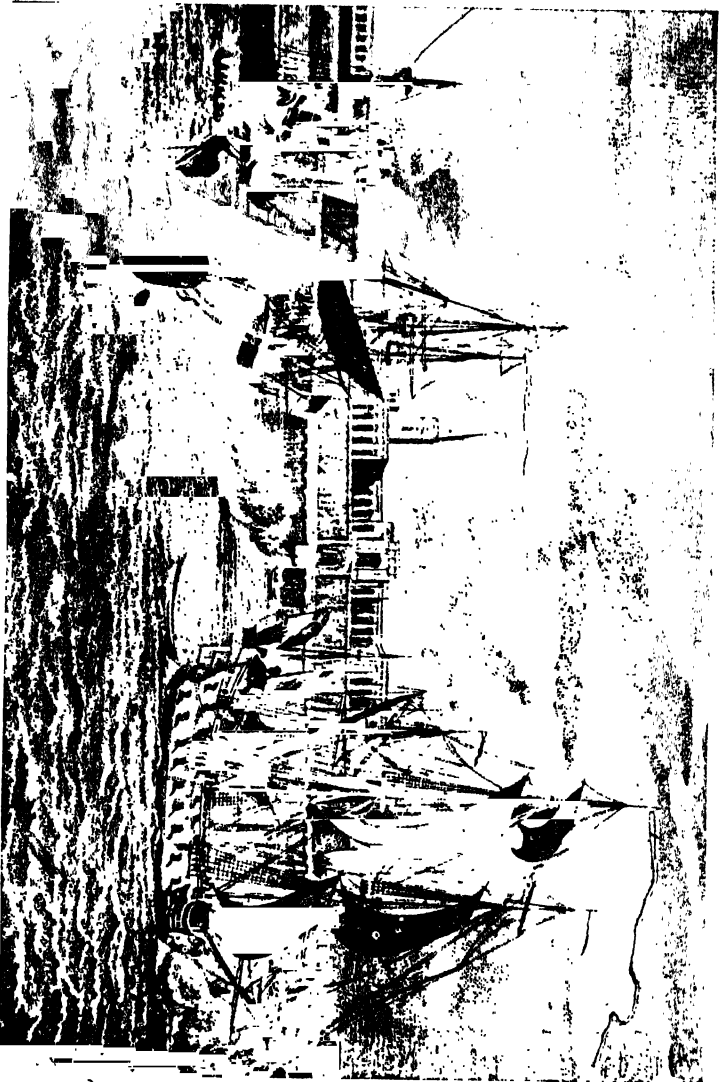
(41) The Augustinians first settled at Bandel in 1599 : and on August 15 of that year laid the first stone of their Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, the Convent being dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Both this Church and the Jesuit Church were destroyed in 1632 when Hooghly was sacked by the "Moors." The author of "Asiaticus : in Two Parts" (1803) who may have obtained his information from the then Prior, says that the Convent was pulled down in 1640 and "rebuilt by that pious gentleman, John Gomes de Soto." Father Hosten (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. X. p. 52) holds that the existing Church dates from 1676.

(42) This bridge is shown in Father Tieffenthaler's plan of "Hugli Bandar" (1765).

“Fort William at Bengall”: About 1730.

THE illustration of “Fort William at Bengall,” which faces this page, is the fourth of a series of pictures of the most important settlements in the East Indies and on the route thither, as they were in the early part of the eighteenth century. The five others represent the Cape of Good Hope (in which the Dutch flag flies from a walled fort), the island of St. Helena, Tellicherry on the west coast, Fort Saint George (with a wholly imaginary back ground of hills) and Bombay. The originals are in the Military Committee-room at the India Office. Their purchase is thus recorded in the Court Minutes of November 1, 1732:—“Order’d that the Secretary do pay Mr. George Lambert £94-10-0 for six pictures of the Forts etc., for the Court Room at Fifteen Guineas per picture as per agreement.” (Foster, Catalogue, p. 23). George Lambert (1710—1765) was the first President of the Society of Arts, and Samuel Scott (d. 1772), who painted the ships, was a friend of Hogarth and a marine artist of some note. The series was engraved by Gerard Vandergucht about 1736, but the prints are scarce.

In the foreground of the picture are several English vessels at anchor, three of which are firing a salute. Behind is seen the river face of old Fort William, showing two lines of battlements, which enclose Government House. Over the roof of the latter rises the steeple of St. Anne’s Church, which was consecrated in 1709, and was destroyed during the fighting in June, 1756. The church in the distance on the left is probably the Portuguese Church which was replaced in 1797 by the present Catholic Cathedral in Murghihatta. The small river gate to the left, seen indistinctly near the north-west bastion and partially covered by the edge of a sail, is identified by Dr. Busteed (*Echoes from Old Calcutta*) as the gate by which Seraj-ud-daula entered the fort immediately after its capture. The Ghat leading down to the river from the larger gate in the centre is probably that by which Governor Drake fled to the boats.



FORT WILLIAM AT BENGAL: ABOUT 1730.

Painted and delineated by George Lambert and Samuel Scott.

(From an engraving by Gerard Vandergucht.)

Notes on the Early History of Manipur.*

THE Manipur State was known in the olden days, by a variety of names. In Rennell's *Memoir* and maps of India it is called "Meckley." In Symes' *Narrative* and in maps of that period the State is called "Cassay." It has long been known in Cachar as "Mogli" which is apparently a form of "Meckley." Among the Shan and Burmese tribes the State was known by the name of "Ka-Se" or "Ka-the."

The Native State of Manipur which lies far beyond the Ganges and the Brahmaputra on the N.-E. frontier of India, comprises an area of about 8,000 square miles. It is bounded on the North by the Naga country and the hills overlooking the Assam Valley, on the West by the district of Cachar, on the East by Upper Burma and on the South by the Lushai hills. The Valley of Manipur, which is very fertile, extends over 650 square miles. Surgeon-General E. Balfour (*Cyclopaedia of India*, p. 851 infers that this valley was at one time the bed of a large lake and that the sheet of water called the Logtak Lake is its remnant which is rapidly filling up, an opinion which is endorsed by the late Sir W. W. Hunter (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX. p. 324).

The early history of Manipur and its people is enveloped in darkness and the records written by the inhabitants since they became Hindus in 1714 A.D. are so vague and legendary that they cannot be relied upon. But the fact cannot be ignored that this State has existed as an independent kingdom from a very early date and was originally peopled by several tribes which came from different directions. It is difficult to say what was the form of government before the year 700 A.D., but it is surmised by Sir James Johnstone ("My Experiences in the Naga Hill, and Manipur," p. 80) that a monarchy must have existed in those times. About 1250 A.D., a Chinese invasion on a big scale was repulsed by the Manipuris and a larger number of the Chinese were made prisoners. These captives taught the Manipuris the art of rearing cocoons and some of them settled at Susa Rameng in the Manipur Valley, where their descendants are still to be found. The Manipuris further learnt the art of brick-making from the Chinese who built two solid blocks of masonry in the palace, between which the road to the Lion Gate passed. These blocks were destroyed by the Burmese invaders, but was rebuilt by Gambhir Singh.

The present inhabitants of Manipur are a fine race of men descended from an Indo-Chinese stock, with some admixture of Aryan invaders that had passed

*A Paper read at the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Calcutta in January 1923. Reprinted by permission.

along the Gangetic and Brahmaputra Valleys in prehistoric days. There is an order of priestesses in Manipur called 'the Maibee' said to have been founded by a certain princess of Manipur. The oldest family of Brahmans in the country is known as 'Hungoi-bun' derived from the word 'Hungoi' a frog. The name was given by the Manipuris to the first 'Brahman' whose frequent baths or ablutions to ensure the purity of the body filled them with astonishment.

The kingdom of Manipur—situated, as it is, in the heart of the difficult and mountainous country which stretches between Assam, Cachar, Burma and Chittagong—never attracted the serious attention of historians till it first came to public notice as an ally and neighbour of the Shan Kingdom of Pong which touched Tipperah, Yunan and Siam, and of which the city called 'Mogaung' by the Burmese and 'Mongmarong' by the Shans, was the capital. Even then, the history of Manipur is devoid of any interesting feature till it reaches the year 1714 A.D. In that year a Naga, named Panheiba, became Raja of Manipur taking the name of "Gharib Nawaz." About the middle of the 18th century (1) a wandering Hindu ascetic told him that he had discovered that the Raja and his subjects were descended from Arjun (a hero of the Mahabharat) by a Naga woman and that they were consequently Kshattriyas of the Lunar Race. The King was so much elated at this new revelation of his high ancestry that he at once embraced Hinduism. There was an elaborate ceremony of purification after which he was invested with the sacred thread.

As the early history of Manipur has not been exhaustively dealt with by any writer and as several important historical facts relating to the period, beginning with the reign of Gharib Nawaz up to the opening of relations between Manipur and the British are buried in oblivion, some details concerning the history of the Hinduised Naga King, traced from the archives of the Imperial Government, may perhaps prove interesting to students of history. The letter from Mr. Verelst, Chief of Chittagong Factory, to Mr. H. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, dated 19th September 1762, (2) throws a flood of light on the subject. We find from this letter that Gharib Nawaz had two wives. By the first, he had a son called Sham Shah, who also again had two sons, Gour Shah and Jai Singh. By his second wife, Gharib Nawaz had six children, Ajit Shah, Nun Shah, Tong Shah, Sarbosache, Bharat Shah and Sattrughna Shah. Under the influence of his second wife and his guru (or Vazir), Gharib Nawaz set aside the claims of Sham Shah and appointed Ajit Shah as his heir in about 1750. He even went so far as to renounce his throne in favour of Ajit Shah in his lifetime. About two years and a half after his resignation, Gharib Nawaz, who fought several battles with the Burmese between 1725 and 1749, undertook a journey to Burma with his son Sham Shah to settle some

(1) Census of Assam by E. A. Gait, p. 253, and Statistical Account of Assam by Hunter. Vol. II, p. 381.

(2) Public O. C. 4th October, No. 5, 1762.

political differences. He was successful in his mission. While Gharib Nawaz and his son were absent in Burma, Ajit Shah heard rumours to the effect that his father was repenting the injustice he had done to Sham Shah and intended to place him on the throne. Ajit Shah ordered some of his men to meet his father and brother on their return from Burma and under pretence of escorting them to murder them on the way. Thus Gharib Nawaz, Sham Shah and about twenty of the principal inhabitants of Manipur were treacherously massacred. This incident marked the beginning of a series of treacherous parricides and fratricides in the State of Manipur.

Bharat Shah (the fifth son of the second wife) came to know of the dark deeds of his brother, secretly formed a strong party of his own supporters and sent word to Ajit Shah to quit the country. Bharat Shah said that as "he abhorred the thought of dipping his hands in his brother's blood," Ajit Shah must leave Manipur and never think of returning to it again and to this proposal Ajit Shah was reluctantly compelled to agree. "Bharat Shah's action received the approval of the people and he was unanimously requested to take up the management of the State. On his death and after a year and a half the several Rajahs under the Government of Meckley, (thirty-one in number) assembled to select his successor." They unanimously chose Gour Shah (eldest son of Sham Shah) to the vacant throne and he was "immediately proclaimed Rajah of Meckley" about the year 1758, an act of justice by which the direct succession of the line was restored. During this period the Burmese invaded Manipur and occupied the Capital. "Gour Shah, in his retreat from the enemy fell from his horse and broke his leg." On this he invited his brother Jai Singh to try to retrieve the lost glory of his country by driving off the Burmese. Gour Shah also offered to abdicate the throne in his favour.

Jai Singh accepted the proposal of his brother Gour Shah and began to collect troops for resisting the Burmese invasion. In the meantime the Burmese invaders received the news that the Peguers were in revolt and they had to leave Manipur after occupying it for 13 days. Jai Singh pursued them somewhat successfully and decided to continue the war against their foreign enemies. At about this time Ajit Shah, encouraged by the perilous position of his nephew Jai Singh, represented his case to the English through the Raja of Tipperah, and declared that he had been unjustly deposed from the throne and expelled from his country. When Jai Singh came to know of this he deputed his Vakil Haridas Gossain with a letter to Mr. Verelst at Chittagong stating why his uncle Ajit Shah had been dethroned. The British examined the *pros* and *cons* of the case and were ultimately convinced of the guilt of Ajit Shah. They not only decided to support the claims of Jai Singh to the throne but also expressed their willingness to help him in the war against the Burmese. The Vakil of Jai Singh, proposed 9 articles or terms to Mr. Verelst as the basis of an alliance to be negotiated between them on

behalf of their respective masters. After some discussion the terms of the alliance (3) were finally settled on the 14th September 1762 and signed by Haridas Gossain at Chittagong. Diplomatic relations between the British and the State of Manipur date from that day. The following are the articles of the alliance proposed by Haridas Gossain on behalf of Jai Singh, Raja of Manipur, to Harry Verelst, Chief of Chittagong, acting on behalf of the Hon'ble United East India Company :—

- (1) " That the said Jai Singh, his master, shall be assisted with such of the the troops as from time to time can be spared for the recovery of such lands and effects belonging to the said Jai Singh as he hath been dispossessed of by the Burmahs (Burmese)."
- (2) " That for the assistance of such English troops the said Jai Singh is willing and ready to pay at the immediate expiration of every month all and every expense and contingent expenses of such troops then due so long as they may remain in his service."
- (3) "That the said Jai Singh is willing and ready to join with all his force the said English forces to obtain full and ample satisfaction for all and every injury the said English have from time to time suffered by the Burmahs at the Negrairje (Negrais) or any other place during the said Burmah's administration when in any time in possession of Pegu."
- (4) " That the said Jai Singh will from the time of signing these articles, consider such injuries as have been done by the Burmahs (Burmese) to the said English as injuries done to himself and that the said Jai Singh will ever hereafter be ready to resent any new insult or hindrance the English trade or people may meet with at Pegu, the Negrairje (Negrais) or any other part or parts at present under the Government of the Burmah Rajah or the Rajah of Pegu—also every other power or Government that may interrupt the free trade of every English subject passing into and through their countries."
- (5) " That the said Jai Singh will at all times fully consider every enemy to the said English as his own enemy and that the said English shall consider every enemy to the said Jai Singh as their enemy."
- (6) " That the said Jai Singh shall grant such lands as the said English may think proper for the building of a Factory and Fort for the transaction of their business and protection of their persons and effects in every part under his Government and that whatever part the said English may fix on for their Factory and Fort the said Jai Singh shall also grant a distance of country round such Factory and Fort of eight thousand cubits to the said English free of rent for ever."
- (7) "That the said Jai Singh shall grant permission to the English for an open trade into and through his country free of all duties, hindrance

(3) Public Progs., Vol. 1762, pp. 232—1.

or molestation and that the said Jai Singh will ever protect and defend the said English in the same."

- (8) "That the said Jai Singh shall not enter into any accommodation with the Burmah Rajah without the advice and approbation of the English nor shall the English enter into a separate and distinct treaty with the Burmah Rajah without previously advising the said Jai Singh."
- (9) "Should the English troops with those of Meckley be obliged to march against the Burmah Rajah in order to obtain satisfaction for their mutual injuries received and in consequence make themselves masters of the Burmah Country the said Jai Singh doth then agree that should the said English then give him full possession of the said Burmah country he the said Jai Singh will then make good to the said English all such losses as they have ever heretofore sustained."

Haridas Gossain in his anxiety to secure British assistance for his master gave to Mr. Verelst "a very particular account (4) of the situation of the different countries quite down to the Southern parts of Pegu" and also held out hopes of an extensive British trade from India to China. He wrote to Mr. Verelst that "when the Mecklyans and Burmahs are upon amicable terms, the China merchants (would) bring their goods down as far as Moneypore, in any quantities they find a market for." He thus tried to convince Mr. Verelst that the expulsion of the Burmese from the soil of Manipur and the securing of favourable terms from them would be of great commercial interest to the East India Company. Mr. Verelst accordingly sent a copy of this alliance, executed by Haridas Gossain, to Mr. H. Vansittart, requesting him at the same time to approve of all its conditions and to supply him with a force for the expedition. He emphasised the utility of this expedition as follows:—that "immediately on their arrival at Manipur they would be able to demand satisfaction from the Burmahs (Burmese) for all the injuries their nation (the British) have received from them at Negrais (5) and Pegu."

The letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Vansittart and the paper containing the articles of alliance, referred to above, were placed by the latter as President before the Board for consideration on the 4th October, 1762 (6). The Board were of opinion that "the articles were very favourable and the carrying such an expedition into execution may be attended, if it proves successful, with great advantages to the Hon'ble Company, but as they judge it necessary and proper, before they proceed further, to call for the opinions of Colonel Coote and Major Carnac upon the subject, they order the Secretary to summon their attendance at a Council to be held on Monday next for that purpose." So the discussion was postponed till the next Consultation which was held on the 11th

(4) Pub. O. C. 4th October, No. 5, 1762.

(5) In 1759 the British Settlers at Negrais were massacred by the Burmese at the instigation of the French.

(6) Public Progs. Vol. 1762, p. 225.

October 1762 (7). Colonel Coote being indisposed could not, however, attend the meeting, but the President (Mr. Vansittart) and Major Carnac being present, the consideration of the subject was resumed, when the President laid before the Board translations of some letters from Shah Alum, King of Delhi and his Vazir Shuja-ud-daulah, earnestly applying for British help to gain possession of the Capital (Delhi).

Let us now turn for a moment to the affairs at the Mughal Court at Delhi. In 1759 Ghazi-ud-din, the Vazir, murdered Emperor Alamgir II. The Emperor's son, who was then in Bihar, on receipt of this news proclaimed himself king under the title of Shah Alum and appointed Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, as his Vazir. Ghazi-ud-din, who refused to acknowledge Shah Alum as King, raised an army to oppose his advance to the Capital. On this the Emperor Shah Alum and Shuja-ud-daulah sought the help of the British. The Board taking the grave situation mentioned in these letters (8) into consideration decided "that it would be very imprudent at that juncture to detach any body of European troops to so distant a quarter as Meckley but at the same time held that they would not lose so favourable an opportunity of contracting an alliance with the Meckley Rajah as it might open a road to them for obtaining reparation from the Burmese for the repeated ill-treatment of the Factory at Negrairje (Negrais)."

The Board therefore came to the conclusion that for the present they "detach six Companies of Sepoys, four from hence (Calcutta) and two to be draughted from Capt. Grant's Battalion at Chittagong under the Command of Lieutenant Archibald Swinton, with two other officers, Lieutenant John Stables (9) and Ensign Scotland, to fix a post at Moneypoor (Manipur) and make themselves acquainted with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs (Burmese) and the situation of their Country." The Board further agreed "to write to their officers at the Chittagong Factory informing them of their aforesaid resolution and to acquaint them that Mr. Verelst may either accompany the troops himself, or send Mr. Marriott or Mr. Rumbold, either of whose orders they must in such case be directed to follow." The Board also recommended that "the gaining exact intelligence on the heads above mentioned, and cultivating the further friendship of the Meckley Rajah, should be the objects of their chief care, but that they are on no account to proceed any further or commence hostilities against the Burmahs (Burmese), until they shall receive our future orders in consequence of the intelligence they may receive and send us."

At last a detachment destined for the Meckley expedition safely reached Chittagong about December 1762 (10). In January 1763 it left Chittagong for

(7) *Ibid*, p. 235.

(8) *Public Progs.* Vol. 1762, pp. 293—40.

(9) Afterwards Member of Council at Fort William from November, 1782, to November, 1787.

(10) Volume of Records obtained from I. O., September, 1762 to November, 1764, p. 85.

Manipur under Mr. Verelst. It reached Khaspur, near Badarpur, in April, but suffered so much from rain and disease amidst pestilential swamps that it melted away and the remnant fell back to Jainagar, on the left bank of the River Barak, whence they eventually returned to Bengal—thus recalling to memory the fateful retreat of Mir Jumla, under similar circumstances, from Assam where he led in 1662 A.D. the Imperial host of Aurangzib to annex it to the Mughal Empire.

In the following year a declaration (11) was received from Chittagong dated 11th September 1763 from Gour Shah (again in temporary regal power), which while confirming all the articles of the aforesaid alliance pleaded his inability to pay in cash which he was bound to pay on behalf of Jai Singh to the English according to the second article of the alliance. But he agreed to meet the expenses referred to therein by the "products of Meckley." The following is the full text of Gour Shah's declaration:—"I am to observe that, since the Burmahs (Burmese) have overrun and destroyed a great part of the dominions of Meckley, it is not in my power to make such payments in actual species either of gold or silver. But I agree to pay all such expenses as have already accrued to the English in their late march towards Meckley and all such expense as hereafter may accrue to them in their future march to Meckley, to be paid from time to time in such goods and merchandize as are procurable in my country: and which I agree to deliver to the English at Raung Roong at their annexed rates (12) and conditions, but such quantities as are specified in the annexed list (13) shall be delivered as the first payment immediately on the English troops getting up to Meckley. And I am now willing to pay in ready money towards this agreement five hundred Meckley Gold rupees to be valued at twelve silver rupees each. So soon as the English shall enable me to work the gold mine on the banks of the River Brahmaputra in the dominions of Meckley, as well as any other mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, copper, precious stones and mines of all kinds whatever, now known or what hereafter may be discovered in Meckley, I am willing and agree to pay all expenses in the working of the said mines; and also to give the English three-fourths of products of the same towards defraying the general expense of their troops in my employ. Which products with my goods and merchandize I agree to pay them from time to time till the whole expense of their assisting me is discharged. When and on all accounts between us being settled and adjusted, I am then to be released from any such further stipulated payments. But hereby agree that the said English are to reside in Meckley as merchants on the full terms and privileges as are stipulated in the Treaty of the 14th September 1762." The products of Meckley which Gour Shah agreed to pay annually to the East India Company towards the expenses of their troops

(11) Public Progs. Vol. July—December, 1763, pp. 1330—31.

(12) Annexure A.

(13) Annexure B.

employed on his account in Manipur were valued at Rs. 56,850 (14). Out of this Gour Shah agreed to pay within one month after the arrival of the English troops at Raung Roong articles valued at Rs. 26,050 (15). It does not appear from the records whether the balance of the articles was supplied to the East India Company. Probably this was not done, for we find that the British at this stage broke off the negotiations.

Jai Singh died in 1799, on his way to a pilgrimage at Bhagwangola, in Murshidabad district, after a long and chequered regn of nearly 40 years. His eldest son Harsha Chandra succeeded him, but was murdered, after a reign of two years. Jai Singh's second son, who was the next king, also met with the same fate 5 years later. A third son Chaurjit Singh, ascended the vacant throne, and the fourth, Marjit Singh, thereupon engaged in a series of useless conspiracies. On the invitation of Marjit Singh the King of Ava invaded Manipur in 1812. Chaurjit Singh and his youngest brother Gambhir Singh fled and Marjit Singh was placed on the throne. Marjit Singh put to death all other likely rival candidates to the throne. In 1818 he invaded Cachar. Its king, Govinda Chandra, failing to get British help, solicited the aid of Chaurjit Singh who was at that time living in Jaintia, after his dethronement. The latter at once came to his assistance. Marjit Singh promptly retreated to Manipur while Chaurjit Singh established himself in the South of Cachar which Gobinda Chandra is said to have promised him as a reward for his services. In the following year the Burmese again attacked Manipur and drove Marjit to Cachar. He now became reconciled to his brother Chaurjit and helped him to drive away Govinda Chandra from Cachar. In 1823 their nephew Pitambar Singh led a force into Manipur and dispossessing a man named Subal who had been installed by the Burmese, proclaimed himself king. Gambhir Singh, thereupon collected a small force and marched against Pitambar and defeated him. Pitambar fled to Ava, but Manipur was by this time so utterly exhausted that Gambhir Singh was unable to maintain his troops there and was forced to return to Cachar. There he quarrelled with Chaurjit who retired to Sylhet. At about this time the Burmese again took possession of Manipur and prepared themselves for an attack of Cachar. This was prevented by the intervention of the British who restored Govinda Chandra to the throne of Cachar. They also assisted Gambhir Singh to regain Manipur. This arrangement was confirmed by the Treaty of Yandabu which was executed between the British and the Burmese in 1826.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,

(14) Public Progs. Vol. 1763, pp. 1331—2.

(15) *Ibid*, p. 1332.

ANNEXURE A.

Products of Meckley which Gour Shah agreed to give annually to the East India Company.

(1) Silk	...	10 maunds	@ Rs. 5	per seer	...	2,000	
(2) Iron	...	1,000	,,	@ Rs. 4	per maund	...	4,000
(3) Copass	...	1,000	,,	@ Rs. 1½	,,	...	1,500
(4) Dammer	...	1,000	,,	@ Rs. 1½	,,	...	1,500
(5) Wood oil	...	1,000	,,	@ Rs. 1½	,,	...	1,500
(6) Wax	...	500	,,	@ Rs. 20	,,	...	10,000
(7) Elephant teeth	...	100	,,	@ Rs. 20	,,	...	2,000
(8) Agar	...	100	,,	@ Rs. 4	,, seer	...	16,000
(9) Camphor	...	10	,,	@ Rs. 80	,, maund	...	800
(10) Black thread	...	100	,,	@ Rs. 20	,,	...	2,000
(11) Red	..	100	,,	@ Rs. 20	,,	...	2,000
(12) Blue	..	100	,,	@ Rs. 20	,,	...	2,000
(13) White	..	200	,,	@ Rs. 20	,,	...	4,000
(14) Black Coss	...	10	,,	@ Rs. 1½	,, seer	...	750
(15) Meckley cloths	...	500	pieces	@ Rs. 2	,, piece	...	800
(16) ,, gold rupees	...	500		@ 12 Silver rupees	each	...	6,000
TOTAL						...	56,850

ANNEXURE B.

Products which Gour Shah promised to deliver within one month after the arrival of the English troops.

(1) Silk	...	...	...	...	...	5 maunds.
(2) Iron	...	...	...	...	...	500
(3) Copass	...	...	...	...	...	500
(4) Dammer	...	...	...	...	...	500
(5) Wax	...	...	...	...	...	250
(6) Elephant teeth	...	...	...	...	...	50
(7) Agar	...	...	...	...	...	20
(8) Black thread	...	...	...	...	...	50
(9) Red thread	...	...	...	...	...	50
(10) Blue thread	...	...	...	...	...	50
(11) White thread	...	...	...	...	...	100
(12) Meckley cloths	...	...	...	...	...	500 pieces.
(13) ,, gold rupees	...	...	...	...	...	150.

Baptisms in Calcutta: 1778 to 1782.

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which a second instalment is now printed covering the period from 1778 to 1782) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge, of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Registers have appeared in the following volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* :

Baptisms in Calcutta : 1713 to 1758 : Vol. XXI. pp. 143 to 159.
1759 to 1766 : Vol. V. pp. 325 to 332.
1767 to 1777 : Vol. XXV. pp. 130 to 155.

Marriages in Calcutta : 1713 to 1754 : Vol. IX. pp. 217 to 243.
1759 to 1779 : Vol. IV. pp. 486 to 512.
1780 to 1785 : Vol. VII. pp. 164 to 171.
1785 to 1792 : Vol. XVI. pp. 41 to 71.
1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register) : Vol. XXI. pp. 76 to 141.

Burials in Calcutta : 1713 to 1755 : Vol. X. pp. 257 to 284.
1759 to 1761 : Vol. V. pp. 136 to 142.
1762 to 1774 : Vol. VI. pp. 92 to 106.

NOTE.—Many of the succeeding entries refer to individuals who figure in the entries from 1767 to 1777, and of whom biographical details have been given in that connection. For obvious reasons, the information has not been repeated.

1778.

- Jan. 2 Diana, daughter of Wm. Cotes, Jr. Mercht., and Diana, his wife.
.. 4 Sally, daughter of the late Wm. Ayres, Soldr., and Elizth., his wife.
.. 16 Alexr. Henry, son of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht.
.. 17 Sophia Frances Chicheley, daughter of Capt. Richd. Chicheley Plowden and Elizth. Sophia, his wife. (1).
.. 17 Frederic Christian, son of Major Fischer, Hon. Co.'s Mily. Service, and Elizth., his wife.
.. 13 Rich., son of Richd. Barwell, Esq., Member of the Supreme Council, and Elizth. his wife. Omitted in the proper place. (2).
.. 25 Elizth, daughter of Wm. Wilkins and Mary, his wife.

- Feb. 15 Henry Willm., son of Simeon Droze Esq., Member of the Board of Trade, and Mary, his wife. (3).
 .. 10 Elizth. Amelia, daughter of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife. Omitted above. (4).
 .. 13 Caroline, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Fortnom and Jane, his wife.
- Mar. 1 John, son of John Kyles, Gunner of Arty.
 .. 1 Elizth, daughter of John Hallon, Soldr.
 .. 3 Saml., son of Mr. Jos. Hodgson.
 .. 3 Frances, daughter of Mr. Saml. Wildman.
 .. 25 Thos., son of Lieut.-Col. Hampton, H. C.'s Mily. Service and Margt., his wife.
- Apr. 3 Eleanora, daughter of Mr. Jas. Miller, writer, H. C.'s service.
 .. 22 Elizth. Millicent, daughter of Major Horton Briscoe and Millicent, his wife.
 .. 26 Willm., son of Wm. Francis, Soldr.
- May 5 John, son of William Berrie, Drummer.
 .. 5 Mary, daughter of Francis Latour, Matross.
 .. 10 Sarah, daughter of Edward Jackson, Soldr.
 .. 17 James, son of William Browne.
 .. 24 Sarah, daughter of Saml. Keedy, Soldr.
 .. 25 Geo. Peter, son of Mr. Peter Moore, Jr. Mercht. H. C.'s service, and Sarah, his wife. (5).
- June 11 Phillip John, son of Mr. Ducarel, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service. (6).
 .. 12 Jas., son of Mr. J. Anderson, Jr. Mercht., Do.
 .. 12 Mary, daughter of the deceased Capt. Edwd. Shewin.
 .. 17 John Clavering, son of Lieut. Wm. Wood and (blank), his wife.
 .. 21 Nancy, daughter of W. Larkman, Soldr.
 .. 22 Henrietta, daughter of Sir Robt. Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and Frances, his wife. (7).
- July 12 John, Henry and Henrietta, children of Mr. Prinsep. (8).
- Aug. 8 Nathaniel Thornhill, son of Capt. Saml. Howe Showers, H. C.'s Mily. Service and Anne, his wife, lately deceased. (9).
 .. 16 Alexr., son of Alexr. Ross, Serjt.
- Sept. 7 Mary, daughter of Mr. Ralph Winstanley Wood, Free Mercht. and Mary, his wife.
- Oct. 3 Francis Jas., son of Mr. Saml. Peat, Attorney at law, and Mary, his decd. wife. (10).

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- Nov. 6 Thos., son of Mr. J. E. Keighly, Sr. Mercht., and Mary, his wife. (11).
 .. 11 Robt. Roquier, son of John Roquier, Comdr. of Ordinance.
 .. 13 Cudbert, son of Chas. Sealy, Esq., advocate, and Mary, his wife. (12).
 .. 15 Ann, daughter of John Hepingstall, Serjt.
 .. 22 Margt., daughter of Jas. Hook, Carpenter.
 .. 28 Simeon Barwell, son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 29 Sarah, daughter of Jacob Harvey, Soldr.
- Dec. 13 Charlotte, daughter of Thos. Cox, Corpl. of Arty.
 .. 13 Daniel, son of John Merley, Sergt. of Militia.
 .. 13 Thos., son of Richd. Moore, Serjt. of Arty.
 .. 13 Elizth, daughter of Jos. Tame, Matross.
 .. 18 Sarah, daughter of Chas. Purling, Esq., (13).
 .. 20 Mary, daughter of Conside Knobb, Soldr.
 .. 20 Peter, son of Peter Cousins, Soldr.

1779.

- Jan. 3 Maria, daughter of Geo. Lane, Corpl.
 .. 6 Marian, daughter of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Mary, his wife. (14).
 .. 7 John Henry, son of Edwd. Hardwicke. (15).
 .. 10 Catharine, daughter of Wm. Wilkins, Serjt., and Mary, his wife.
 .. 16 Ann, daughter of Edwd. Golding, Esq., and (blank) his wife. (16).
 .. 17 Josias, son of Josias Sanders, Soldr.
 .. 20 Eliza Mariam, (sic) daughter of Major Camac. (17).
- Feb. 3 Elizabeth Hannah, daughter of Mr. Wm. Fenwicke, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 7 James, son of Joseph Bolton, Gunner.
 .. 8 Edwd. Jas., son of Richd. Barwell, Esq., second of the Supreme Council, and Elizth., his deceased wife. (18).
 .. 9 Francis, son of Mr. Francis Balfour, Surgn., and Amelia, his wife. (19).
 .. 14 Diana, daughter of Alexr. McCarty, Serjt., Arty., and Anna Maria, his wife.
 .. 21 Jos. Geo., son of Major Wm. Tolley, H. C.'s service and Anna Maria, his wife.
- Mar. 8 Georgiana Grueber, daughter of Mr. Wm. Larkins, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service, and Mary, his wife.
 .. 26 Evan Edmund Hastings Pascal, son of Mr. Alexr. Murray and Frances, his wife.
 .. 27 Catherine, daughter of Willm. Howard and Elizth., his wife. (20).

- Apr. ... Elizth., daughter of Mr. Saml. Weller and Rose, his wife.
 .. 21 John, son of Chas. Newman, Esq., Advocate.
- May 16 Lydia, daughter of Elias Cowleshaw, Serjt.
 .. 16 Thos., son of Thos. Green, Soldr.
 .. 18 Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Saml. Skardon and Mary, his wife.
 .. 23 Francis, son of Jas. Craig, Serjt. and Elizth., his decd. wife.
 .. 27 Chas. Catchmaid, son of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan and Hannah, his wife.
- June 13 Elizth, daughter of John Davey, Gunner. •
 .. 27 Mary, daughter of Saml. Davis, Soldr.
 .. 29 Edwd. Chicheley, son of Capt. Richd. Chicheley Plowden and Sophia, his wife.
- July 1 Martha Isaac, f. A person of riper years, renouncing the Jewish religion, baptised according to the rites and ceremonies of the Ch. of England, by the name of Martha.
 .. 18 Robt. Joseph, son of Sir Robert Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Frances, his wife. (21).
 .. 30 Louisa Alicia, daughter of Simeon Droze, Esq., Member of the Bd of Trade, and Mary, his wife.
- Aug. 6 Elijah Barwell, son of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice Supreme Court of Judicature, and Ann, his wife. (22).
 .. 22 John, son of Patrick Laray, Serjt. of Arty., and Mary Rozaris, his wife.
- Sept. 1 Maria, daughter of Wm. Jackson, Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
 .. 13 Elizth. Ann, daughter of Mr. Ezekiel Davis Wilson, Lt. H. C.'s Mily. Service.
 .. 18 Augustin, son of Augustin Sayer.
 .. 22 Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Geo. Harrison and Mary, his wife.
 .. 26 Willm. son of John Campbell, Invalid.
 Saml., son of Saml. Heglid, Serjt.-Major.
 Finally, son of Finally Ross, Soldr.
- Oct. 3 Frederick, son of Fredk. Thompson, Soldr.
 .. 9 Frances, daughter of Mr. Edwd. Rowland Jackson, Lieut. H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Phoebe, his wife (23).
 .. 17 Richd., son of John Humback, Soldr.
 .. 17 Henry, son of Henry Eam, Gunner.
 .. 18 Maria Sarah, daughter of Mr. Peter Moore, Sr. Mercht., and Sarah his wife.

- .. 22 Jane, daughter of Mr. Wm. Marriott, Sr. Mercht., and Jane, his wife.
- .. 22 Anne, daughter of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht.
- Nov. 7 James, son of Jas. Barton, Collr. of the Revenues at Boglepore, and Melicent, his wife. Born Nov. 7, 1775. Baptd. by her (sic) father, no Clergyman or person in Holy Orders being within distance or nearer than Calcutta, upwards of 250 miles. The sponsors then were Richd. Barwell, Esq., one of the Members of the Supreme Council, by his Proxy, Mr. Augs. Cleveland; Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq., by his Proxy, Mr. Michael Riddell; and Mrs. Hyde. Subsequently Baptised according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Ch. of England, the sponsors being the said Richd. Barwell, Esq., in person, Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq., by his Proxy, Wm. Barton, Esq., brother of the above said Jas. Barton, and the said Mrs. Hyde, by her Proxy, Miss Diana Bertie. In the presence of Joseph Cator and North Naylor, Esqs., Mrs. Naylor and others (24).
- .. 7 Barnabas, son of James Russell, Corpl.
- .. 7 Isabella, daughter of James Ellis, Invalid.
- .. 14 James, son of Jas. Cornwell, Gunner of Arty.
- .. 21 Thos., son of Wm. Fowler, Gunner of Arty.
- .. 23 Cordelia, daughter of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth, his wife.
- Dec. 1 Christopher Wm., son of Mr. Edwd. Fenwick, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service (25).
- .. 1 Sarah Francisca, daughter of Mr. Saml. Touchet, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service.
- .. 12 Sarah Anne, daughter of Mr. John Williams.
- .. 12 Richd., son of Richd. Creamer, Soldr.
- .. 19 Benjamin, son of Benjn. McInch, Soldr. in the Arty.
- .. 23 Charlotte Caroline Maria, daughter of Mr. Thos. Hincham, Sr. Mercht., Resdt. at Maldah, and (blank), his wife. Born at Maldah, 3rd July, 1775 at 2 o'clock A. M. Sponsors: Lady James and Miss Anna Lawes, and Geo. Mackay, Esq., of London, by their Proxies, Mrs. Ironside, Mrs. Smith and Mr. Henchman. (26).
- .. 26 Thos., son of John Williams, Soldr.
- Feb. 10, 1779, Geo. Herbert
Futtyghur. (Born Feb. 10, 1779) s.
- Feb. 15, 1780, Marian
Berrelli. (Born Jan. 14, 1780) d.
- Feb. 4 1781, Sophia
Cawnpore. (Born Jan. 2, 1781) d.
- of Capt. Lawrence Call,
Commdt. of the Berrelli
Corps & Quarter-Master-
General of the Great
Mogul's Troops in Oudh,
and Sophia, his wife (27).
- The Revd.
Mr. Hulse.

1780.

- Jan. 10 Sophia, daughter of Mr. Oliver. (Aged 4 years and 23* months).
 .. 10 Elizth., daughter of Oliver. (Aged 15 months).
 .. 10 George, son of Mr. Henry Chandler. (Aged 1 year, 23* months).
 .. 18 Elizth., daughter of Lieut. Robt. Gumley.
 .. 18 Willm., son of the said Mr. Gumley.
 .. 22 Frederick Stukeley, son of Lt. Wm. Foster and Diana, his decd. wife.
 .. 22 Henry, son of Mr. Henry Waddell and Anne, his wife.
 .. 22 Anne, daughter of Do. Do.
 .. 23 Alexr. Henry, son of Mr. Jos. Bernard Smith, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service, (28).
 .. 26 Robt. Thos., son of Mr. John Scott, Free Mercht. (29). (Born 12th Aug., 1773).
 .. 29 Anne, daughter of Mr. Robt. Robertson and (blank), his wife.
 .. 30 Lewis Augs., son of John Pascal and Anne, his wife.
 .. 30 Edwd., son of Mr. Edwd. Brightman and Mary, his wife. (30).
- Feb. 7 Molly, daughter of John Milles, Master Pilot Service, & Helene, his wife.
 .. 20 Frances, daughter of Mr. Francis L'herondell & Mary, his wife. (31).
 .. 22 Jas, son of Mr. Alexr. Falkener. (Born May, 20, 1776).
 .. 25 Hannah Paulina, daughter of Mr. Bryan Glover & Eliza Stuart, his wife.
- Mar. 5 Robt, son of Aaron Spencer & Charlotte, his wife. (32).
 .. 12 Robt, son of Mr. Thos. Ivory. (32A). (Born 19th Dec., 1776).
 .. 12 Catherine, daughter of Mr. Thos. Ivory. (Born 27th Oct., 1778).
 .. 19 Ann, daughter of John Griffith, Soldr.
 .. 19 John, son of John Griffith, Soldr.
 .. 22 Harriet Chicheley, daughter of Capt. Richd. Chicheley Plowden & Sophia, his wife. (33).
 .. 27 Henry John, son of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht., & Alicia, his wife.
 .. 28 Mary daughter of Mr. Jas Isnell, Carpenter.
- Apr. 7 Amelia, daughter of Mr. Thos. Evans, Factor, H. C.'s service, & Augusta, his wife. (34).
 .. 14 Marian, daughter of Mr. Larkins, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service, & Mary his wife. (35).

*Sic in Register. This may possibly mean "between 2 and 3 months." (Ed. B. P. and P.).

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- .. 22 Willm, son of Mr. G. G. Ducarel, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service.
 .. 25 Thos, son of Mr. Henry Richardson, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service
 and Frances his wife.
 .. 30 Jane, daughter of John Helrat, Soldr.
 .. 30 Francis, son of Francis Richardson, Soldr.
- May 21 Henry Dunbar, son of Major Willm. Tolly, H. C.'s service & Anna
 Maria his wife.
- June 2 Elizth, daughter of Lt.-Col. Arthur Ahmuty & Ursula, his wife.
 .. 4 Martha, daughter of Mr. Jacob Barnet, & Jessey, his wife.
 .. 6 Saml. Coote, son of Wm. Byam Martin, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s
 service, and Charlotte, his wife. (36).
 .. 18 Jane, daughter of Thos. Tyler, Pilot, H. C.'s service.
- July 5 Harriet Ann, daughter of North Naylor, Esq., Atty.-at-law, &
 Ann, his decd. wife. Godfathers: Mr. Droz, Proxy for His
 Grace the Duke of Ancaster, & Mr. Cator. Godmothers:
 Mrs. Droz, Proxy for Lady Priscilla Burrel, Miss Diana
 Bertie for Miss Bertie, (37).
 .. 21 Geo. Leofrick Warren, son of Mr. Geo. Mainwaring Kenderdine,
 Surgn., H. C.'s Service (38).
 .. 31 Elizth. Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Willm. Richardson, Capt. of a
 country ship.
- Aug. 4 Willm., son of John Bristow, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service.
 ((Born at Calcutta in July, 1778).
 .. 4 Charlotte, daughter of John Bristow, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s
 Service. (Born at Delhi in March, 1776). Sponsors: Wm.
 Bristow, Esq., Capt. Nutt by his proxy Mr. Stark & Mr. Shore
 by his proxy Mr. Ogylby. Godmothers, Mrs. Anne Judith
 Bristow & Miss Bristow. Godfather: Geo. Luins (sic. query:
 Livius). Esq., by his proxy Mr. Stark. (39).
 .. 5 Charles, son of Wm. Maxwell, Esq., Chief of Patna.
 .. 17 Helen, daughter of Capt. Chas. Russell Deare, H. C.'s Arty., &
 Anne (sic) Catherine, his wife. (40).
 .. 17 Elizth, daughter of the above Capt. Deare.
- Oct. 10 Mary, daughter of Mr. Dugal Campbell.
 .. 24 Eliza, daughter of Nathl. Middleton, Esq., Aged 22 mos. (41).
 .. 24 Henry Geo. son of Nathl. Middleton, Esq., Aged 11 mos.
 .. 24 Frances Jane, daughter of Wm. Jackson, Atty.-at-Law, and
 Margaret his wife.

- Nov. 4 Frances Alicia, daughter of Wm. Hosea, Esq., Chief of Moorshedabad, & Mary, his wife.
 .. 5 Harriet Larkins, daughter of Lieut Saml. Watson, H. C.'s Service, & Mary, his wife.
 .. 11 Margt., daughter of John Petrie, Esq., H. C.'s Civil Service & Ann his wife (42).
 .. 17 Anne Elizth, daughter of Mr. Wm. Haverkam, Sr. Mercht., & Ann his wife. (43).
- Dec. 2 Willm, son of Mr. Peters, Commdr. : of a country vessel, & Ann, his wife.
 .. 2 Maria, daughter of Mr. Francis L'herondell & Maria, his decd. wife.

1781.

- Jan. 2 Willm. Warren, son of Mr. Raph Winstanley Wood & Mary, his wife.
 .. 2 Warren Hastings, daughter (sic) of Major Lewis Grant, H. C.'s Service, & Agnes, his wife.
 .. 4 Geo. Herbert, son of Mr. Jos. Hodson.
 .. 4 Chas., son of Saml. Stuart.
 .. 4 Jas., son of John Abraham & Maria, his wife.
 .. 7 Willm. Eldred, son of Mr. Edwd. Hardwicke.
 .. 24 Mary, daughter of Willm. Howard & Elizth., his wife.
- Feb. 20 Eliza Matilda, daughter of Mr. Sherman Bird, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service and Susannah his wife.
 .. 20 Caroline, daughter of Mr. Sherman Bird, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service and Susannah his wife. Godfather: Mr. Shakespear. Godmothers: Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Harrison by their proxies Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Coales. Godfather: Mr. Bathurst. Godmothers: Mrs. Bird and Miss Morressy, by their proxies Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Coales. (44).
- Mar. 24 Mary, daughter of Mr. Jas. Hennes, Inhabt. (45).
 .. 25 Maria Theresa, daughter of Lt.-Col. Tottingham, H. C.'s Service. & Theresa, his wife.
 .. 29 Alicia, daughter of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht., & Alicia, his wife.;
- Apr. 12 Hampton Silvester, son of Major Saml. Howe Showers, H. C.'s Service, & Melian, his wife.
 .. 13 Elizth, daughter of Andrew McDowall, Serjt. of Invalids.
- May 7 Warren Rowland, son of Lieut. Edwd. Rowland Jackson, H. C.'s Mily. Service, & Phoebe, his wife.

- .. 16 Willm. John, son of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan & Hannah, his wife.
 .. 16 Anna Maria, daughter of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan & Hannah, his wife.
 .. 16 Olivia, daughter of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan & Hannah, his wife. (Aged 5 years).
 .. 16 Thos. Dynely, son of Mr. Chas. Short.
 .. 16 John, son of Wm. Nathan Wright Hewett, (46).
 .. 24 Selina, daughter of Jas. Irwin, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, & Selina, his wife. (46A).
 June 3 Robt, son of Simon Helletz & Barbara, his wife.
 .. 7 Edwd. Collins, son of Sir Robt. Chambers, one of the Judges of the Sup. Ct. of Judicature & Frances, his wife. (47).
 July 17 Robt, son of Lieut. Robt. Voung.
 .. 27 Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Jas. Collie, Asst. Surgn., H. C.'s Service & Ann, his wife.
 Sep. 30 James, son of Capt. Richd. Sturgeon.
 Oct. 14 Geo, male; slave-boy of Mr. Pennington.
 .. 17 Willm, son of Mr. Francis Fowke, (48).
 Nov. 11 John, son of John Petrie, Esq., H. C.'s Service, & Ann, his wife. Godfathers: Mr. Wm. Bruyere, & Mr. Wm. Petrie, by his proxy, John Petrie, Esq. (49).
 .. 15 Jesse daughter of Mr. Pat. Heatly, Factor, H. C.'s Service. (50).
 .. 15 Philadelphia, daughter of Capt. Robt. McMurdo, H. C.'s Service.
 .. 15 Douglas, son of Capt. Robt. McMurdo, H. C.'s Service.
 Dec. 1 Eleanora Sophia, daughter of Mr. Robt. Robertson & (blank), his wife. (50A).
 .. 16 Elizth, daughter of John Cooper, Invalid, and Lucy, his wife.

1782.

- Jan. 11 John, son of Mr. Jno. Stormont, Surgn., & Janet, his wife. (51).
 .. 13 Maria Magdalene, daughter of Christian Dentis, Soldr.
 .. 21 Ann, daughter of Capt. Willm. Richardson.
 .. 30 Willm. Jno, son of Capt. Wm. Sands, H. C.'s Service & Christina, his wife. (52).
 .. 31 Frances Maria, daughter of Mr. Andrew Williams, Surgn.-Major, H. C.'s Service, & Elizth., his wife.
 Feb. 2 Charlotte, daughter of Wm. Hosea, Esq., Chief of Muxadabad & Mary, his wife. Godfathers: Sir Robt. Chambers & Major Metcalf by his proxy Mr. Templer. Godmothers: Mrs. Wheeler & Mrs. Moore.

- .. 2 Eliza, daughter of John Shakespear, Esq., late Chief of Dacca.
Godfather: Mr. Hosea. Godmothers: Mrs. Hosea, & Mrs.
Martin by her proxy Lady Chambers. (53).
- .. 4 Charlotte, daughter of Edwd. Wheler, Esq., 1st Member, Supreme
Council, & Charlotte, his wife. Godfather: Geo. Livius,
Esq. Godmothers: Lady Wheler by her proxy Mrs. Hyde,
& Lady Chambers by her proxy Mrs. Watson. (54).
- .. 21 Hannah, daughter of Mr. Swinhoe & (blank) his wife. (55).
- .. 22 Eliza, daughter of Mr. Saxon of Omeidpore.
- .. 25 Harriet Sophia, daughter of Simeon Droz, Esq., Member, Bd. of
Trade, & Mary, his wife.
- .. 28 Elizth, daughter of Mr. Thos. Ivory.
- Mar. 2 Apollonia Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Wm. Larkins, Junior Mercht.
H. C.'s Service & Mary, his wife. (56).
- .. 7 Harriet, daughter of Mr. Jas. Miller.
- .. 9 Detlef, son of Mr. Detlef Ehlers & Nancy, his wife, at Serrampore.
Sponsors.—Godfathers: Ole Bie, Esq., Govr. of Serampore,
Neils Ryberg, Esq., Counsellor of Conference to His Danish
Majesty, by his proxy J. F. Junghans, Esq., Pro. Ehlers by
his proxy C. W. Duntzfelt, Esq., Capt Clements by his
proxy Jos. Brandt, Esq. Godmother: Mrs. U. Billefelt. (57).
- .. 11 Thos. Henry Robertson, son of Mr. Stark, Surgeon, Hon. Co.'s
Service. (58).
- .. 11 Eliza, daughter of Mr. Stark, Surgeon, Hon. Co.'s Service.
- .. 20 William, son of Major Willm. Palmer, H. C.'s Mily. Service. (59).
- .. 29 Cordelia, daughter of Mr. Jos. Bernard Smith, Sr. Mercht., H.
C.'s Service, & Rose, his wife.
- Apr. 7 John, son of Major John McDonald, H. C.'s Service.
- .. 7 Simeon, son of Mr. John Hollow & Theodosia, his wife.
- .. 7 Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Launcelot Oliphant.
- .. 8 Susannah, daughter of Thos. Lumberry, Mariner.
- .. 12 Samuel, son of Mr. Chas. Eaton, Atty.-at-law, & Eulalie, his wife.
- .. 14 Samuel, son of Saml. Morris, Serjt.
- .. 14 Elizth, daughter of Wm. Fergusson, Gunner.
- May 1 Hastings, son of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice, Supreme Court
of Judicature, & Mary, his wife. (60).
- .. 26 Willm., son of Wm. Brown, Serjt.-Major of Sepoys, & Roza de
Rozaris, his wife.
- June 2 Margt., daughter of Conwroth Conop, Invalid.
- .. 9 Thos., son of Jas. Garner, Corpl.
- .. 11 Robt., son of Col. Hampton, H. C.'s Service, & Margaret, his wife.
- .. 16 Andrew, son of Frederick Thompson, Serjt. of Arty.

- .. 18 Willm. Henry, son of Chas. Sealy, Esq., Advocatè, & Mary, his wife. (61).
- .. 18 Edwd. Chas., son of Thos. Whinyates, Esq., H. C.'s Mily. Serfice, & Catherine, his wife. (Born 6th May last). (62).
- .. 20 Henry Chicheley, son of Mr. Henry Plowden, H. C.'s Civil Service, & Eugenia, his wife. (63).
- .. 24 John James, son of Mr. Jas. Hennes & Mary, his wife.
- .. 25 Geo. Henry, son of Mr. Geo. Templer & Joan, his wife. (64).
- .. 30 Mary, daughter of Mr. Jas. Neish, Lieut. of Arty :, Mâdras Estbt
- July 2 Harriet, daughter of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register, (Supreme Court) & Margt., his wife.
- .. 4 Elizth., daughter of Mr. Thos. Burges.
- .. 25 Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Wm. Maxwell, late Chief of Patna.
- Aug. 1 Alexr., son of Mr. Alexr. Montgomerie, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, & Maria, his wife.
- .. 11 Amy, daughter of Saml. Northam, Serjt.-Major in the Body Guard of Governour-General.
- .. 25 John, son of John Story.
- .. 30 John Coote, son of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Trader, & Alicia, his wife.
- Sept. 5 Frances, daughter of Mr. Brampton, Atty.-at-law. (65).
- .. 20 Elizth. Ann, d. of Mr. Alexr. Mercer, Supdt. of the Adawlet at
- Willm., s. Patna.
- Oct. 3 Richd., son of Willm. Francis, Serjt. of Invalids.
- .. 10 Mary, daughter of Robt. Cave, Serjt.-Major of Militia, and Punchanna, his wife.
- .. 10 John, son of John Stephenson, Serjt. and Elizth., his wife.
- .. 27 Anthony David s. of Lt.-Col. Anthony Polier, H. C.'s
- Maria d. Service, (66).
- Nov. 20 Frances, daughter of John Belli, writer, H. C.'s Service, and Eliza Stewart, his wife. (67).
- .. 22 James, son of Mr. Jas. Fraser, Free Mercht. and Mary, his wife. (68).
- Dec. 3 Richd. Chicheley, son of Mr. Chicheley Plowden, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Sophia, his wife, (69).
- .. 5 Selina, daughter of Mr. John Stormont, Surgn., H. C.'s Service.
- .. 11 Belvedeira Harriet, daughter of Major Wm. Tolley and Anna Maria, his wife. (70).
- .. 19 Eliza, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allen Macphetson and Eliza, his wife. (71).

[The entries unless otherwise indicated, are all signed by William Johnson, Chaplain, at the end of each month.]

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1) *Richard Chicheley Plowden*. Subsequently a Director of the East India Company from 1803 to 1829. Died in February, 1830. Came out to India with Edward Wheler in April, 1777, when the latter was appointed to the vacancy caused by Colonel Monson's death. Cf. "Memoirs of William Hickey" (Vol. II, p. 102): "Mr. Wheler's party consisted of himself, Mrs. Wheler, Miss Durnford (who upon the death of Mrs. Wheler a few months after her reaching Bengal supplied her place, the widower endeavouring to console himself for his domestic loss in her arms), Captain Richard Chicheley Plowden (now a Director of the East India Company) and his wife: Mr. Markham, eldest son of the Archbishop of York: Mr. William Harding, Mr. John Buller, and Mr. John Melville, the four last being writers appointed to Bengal." They sailed from Portsmouth on April 30, 1777, in the *Duke of Portland* (723 tons, Capt. John Sutton): Wheler having first posted up to London with Captain Plowden in order to get the terms of his appointment to Council altered. Accompanying the *Duke of Portland* were the *York* (723 tons, Capt. John Atkinson Blanshard) and the *Seahorse* (676 tons, Capt. David Arthur), in the last named of which Hickey was a passenger, and which anchored off Saugor on November 1, 1777, fourteen days before the *Duke of Portland*. The maiden name of Mrs. Wheler, who died seven months after her arrival in Calcutta, was Harriet Chicheley Plowden. William Markham played a prominent part at the trial of Hastings, as he was Resident at Benares at the time of the insurrection of Cheyt Singh in 1781. John Buller was subsequently Resident at Tipperah.

(2) *Richard Barwell*. There is no trace in Calcutta of the after-career of this Barwell. For a note on the Barwell family: See *post* p. 184.

(3) *Henry William Droz*. writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1794: arrived in India, November 1, 1795: Commercial Resident at Rungpore, 1801, and at Cossimbazar, April 24, 1804. Died at Cossimbazar, November 18, 1824. Cf. Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, May, 1780: "We are informed that the following persons of figure and consequence are arrived at Beercool for the benefit of their health and fish: . . . Simeon Droze, Esq. with his lady and son and heir." For Simeon Droz: see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXV., p. 147.

(4) *William Jackson*, admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on June 8, 1775. Registrar of the Court and Company's Attorney. Died in Calcutta on August 24, 1807: "A gentleman esteemed for the strictest honour and integrity both in public and private life." (Obituary notice in *Calcutta Gazette*). Married Margaret Stewart on November 7, 1776.

(5) *George Peter Moore*: elected to the House of Commons in 1806 as member for Queenborough, but vacated his seat at the request of Fox in order to make way for Romilly. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

For an account of *Peter Moore*, the father, see *post*, p. 180.

(6) *George Gustavus Ducarel*—see note in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV p. 154. As to the statement there made that Ducarel succeeded Alexander Elliot as Superintendent of the Khalsa Records in 1778, Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham writes :

In the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue for August, 1, 1775 (G.G.P., pp. 3370-3375) it is recorded that Ducarel was appointed to the office in question in succession to Elliot : or three years earlier than the date mentioned. He was elected by the votes of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Francis. The Governor-General and Barwell voted for George Bogle. I can vouch for the accuracy of the date as I have seen the entry in the actual record. Elliot could not therefore have been Superintendent at the time of the trial of Nuncomar, as stated by Archdeacon Firminger on p.cclxxi of the first volume of his edition of the Fifth Report on Indian Affairs of 1812 (Calcutta 1917).

(7) *Henrietta Chambers*—died in Calcutta, July 30, 1779.

(8) *John Prinsep*—married Sophia Auriol and became father of seven famous sons. He came out as a Cadet in 1771, but never joined the Army, becoming at once an "Interloper" or "free merchant." For ten years he was contractor for the chintz investments of the Company and formed an establishment for its manufacture at Monirampore. He also introduced the manufacture of indigo into Bengal at Neelgunge, near Baraset; and set up a Mint at Pultah, where he contracted with Government for the first copper coinage ever struck in the Presidency. In 1784 he was "bought out" by Government for an amount which was two-thirds of what he expected. On leaving India he settled at Thoby Park in Essex, and became M. P. for Queenborough (1802—1806), Alderman of the City of London and Bailiff to the Court of the borough of Southwark—the last a paid office carrying a salary of £1,500 a year. James Prinsep (1799—1864) commemorated by the Ghat, was his seventh son : Henry Thoby the elder (1793—1878) the fourth : and Charles Robert Prinsep (1790—1864) Advocate-General of Bengal, the second. William Prinsep, partner of Dwarka Nath Tagore and William Carr in the firm of Carr Tagore & Co., was another son.

(9) *Nathaniel Thornhill Showers* : in O. C. of November 26, 1781, we find a letter written by the father, then Major Showers, to Brig. Gen. Giles Stibbert, provisional Commander in chief, requesting him "to alter the name of his second son now given in the cadet list as Nathaniel How Showers to Nathaniel Thornhill Showers." The candidate for a cadetship was then three years old! For another son, Charles Lionel Showers (born in 1780), see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 150.

(10) *Samuel Peat*—Attorney-at-law. Was clerk to Mr. Justice Hyde as Hickey was to Sir Henry Russell. Married Mary Cove, Spinster, on May 28, 1777. Deputy Sheriff in the same year.

(11) *James English Keighley*—Son of Mrs. Keighley, "a widow lady of great respectability," who kept an "Academy at Streatham in Surrey, five miles from London," to which William Hickey was sent in March, 1764

(Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 41). Married Mary or Maria Higgins at St. John's Church on May 17, 1777. Was Commercial Chief at Cossimbazar, when Hickey visited Robert Pott at Afzulbaug in April 1785 and again in February 1787 (Memoirs Vol. III, pp. 278, 220) and contractor for the Company's silk investment, having also filatures of his own. "He carried on an extensive business in raw silk whereby he acquired an extensive fortune and lived with a degree of pomp and extravagance little short of Pott." Had previously (1783) been a Member of the Board of Trade "where the avowed allowance was the comparatively pitiful sum of eleven hundred rupees per month": and as such was ordered in January 1786 to be prosecuted by direction of Lord Cornwallis, along with other previous members of the Board, on charges of speculation. Contested the matter for fifteen months in Calcutta and then obtained leave to refer the dispute to the Court of Chancery. Sailed in November, 1789 for Europe in the *Rose* which arrived in the Downs on April 25, 1790. Succeeded in his litigation against the Company in a great measure, but, being ordered to pay his own costs as well as part of theirs, became pecuniarily involved. Was arrested by his creditors and sent to the King's Bench prison, where he died. Lived during 1787-8 (after being deprived of his post at Cossimbazar) at "Ruseapugly, five miles to the southward of Calcutta," where Hickey frequently visited him. Mr. Keighley "drank very hard": and Mrs. Keighley was "one of the prettiest as well as as the cleverest women in India." She died in November 1787 at the age of 32; and Keighley married a Miss Peach before a fortnight had elapsed.

(12) *Cudbert Sealy*—writer, 1796. Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, 1825: transferred to Allahabad, 1832: retired, November 24, 1837. His mother was a daughter of Cudbert Thornhill who was nominated master attendant in 1785 and held the post until April, 1808: see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXV. p. 149). (1). Thornhill was a great Calcutta character. His connexion with the city began as early in 1756 when he was among those who took refuge at Fulda on the capture of Fort William. With Charles Sealy, was elected sidesman at St. John's Church on May 8, 1787. He had, says, William Hickey, writing of the period between 1777 and 1779 (Memoirs Vol. II, p. 156), "a magnificent mansion upon the bank of the river at Cossipore, four miles above Calcutta, where he entertained his numerous friends with the greatest degree of hospitality and good humour." Mrs. Sealy died in 1790: and Hickey records (Memoirs Vol. III, pp. 364—365) that her husband (who was the last Registrar of the Mayor's Court and subsequently Registrar of the Supreme Court) thereupon resolved to return to Europe. "All who knew Mr. Sealy were surprized at his determination, for although he had

(1) The late Mr. E. W. Madge, writing in the *Catholic Herald* of April 21, 1911, mentions that the registers of the Catholic Cathedral of the Virgin Mary of the Rosary in Murghihatta, contain an entry of the marriage on February 14, 1772, of Charles Sealy to Maria Emin or Hammond. Mrs. Sealy, he adds, is buried in the Cathedral compound. The statement that she was a daughter of Cudbert Thornhill is made on the authority of William Hickey: and the name given to the son whose Baptism is here recorded, would appear to corroborate it.

acquired an ample fortune the habits and customs of the country appeared to have become congenial to him." He died while on a journey to Salisbury, his native town, a few months after his arrival. Through his daughter, Mary Ursula who married Thomas Baring, he was the great grandfather of a Viceroy, in the person of the Earl of Northbrook, who presented his portrait to St. John's Church.

His son Charles, baptized on January 21, 1776 (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 139) was appointed to an Artillery Cadetship in 1790, and was gazetted captain—lieutenant in 1804. He was acting as deputy commissary at Prince of Wales Island in 1805-6: major of brigade 1813.

(13) *Charles Hutchinson Purling*—Assistant at Dinajpore, 1771: negotiated treaty with Raja of Cooch Behar, 1772. Acting Chief at Dacca, 1773. Collector of Rungpore, 1777-79. Resident in Oudh, 1781. Gave evidence at the Hastings trial. Returned to India and again became Collector of Rungpore, 1790. Married Elizabeth Hasleby at Bauleah on June 14, 1778, and died in Calcutta, January 31, 1791, aged 44.

(14) *Marian Impey*.—God-daughter of Mrs. Hastings. Born, July 6, 1778. Went home with her parents in 1783.

(15) *Edward Hardwicke*—of Barrypore: married Mrs. Mary Porter, widow, on January 29, 1785.

(16) *Edward Golding*.—appointed assistant at Midnapore, 1766: and supervisor of Sircar Saran on May 3, 1771, where his name survives in Goldingunge, a village a little to the east of Chupra. During the first period of William Hickey's residence in Calcutta (November 1777 to April, 1779) we come across Golding (*Memoirs* Vol. II, p. 163) as a member of the Catch Club, a society limited to twenty-five members, from which ladies were excluded, and which was established in 1778 by seceders from the Harmonic which thereupon "sunk into a mere dance." Hickey was himself a member. On January 14, 1779, Golding writes from Fort William tendering his resignation of the service and requesting a passage on the *Mount Stuart* (758 tons, Captain John Stewart) which arrived in the Downs on January 13, 1780.

His son *Edward Golding, junior*, was appointed a writer in 1797, and arrived in the *Virginie* on May 17, 1798. He "attended" the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, to Fort Saint George, from December 25, 1798, to September 14, 1799, became head assistant in the Secret Political and Foreign Departments in 1800 and Superintendent of Stamps in July, 1803. He resigned in India in December 1803. His wife, Elizabeth, died in Calcutta on September 19, 1802, at the age of 18 years and 11 months. A certain Edward Golding who had an estate in Berkshire was one of the Lords of the Treasury in Addington's administration (1801-4) He and William Markham: see note (1): married sisters, the daughters of Oldfield Bowles (*Farington Diary*, October 25, 1810).

(17) *Major Jacob Camac*—In the 84th King's Regiment till 1763: then commanded the 24th Bengal Infantry from 1766. For many years at Ramghur in Chota Nagpore: served under Popham in 1779, when he defeated Scindia at

Durdah. Lieutenant Colonel, January, 1781: retired, December 2, 1782 and died of fever in Ireland. (Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*).

(18) *Edward James Barwell*—In a postscript to a letter of February 11, 1779, addressed to his brother Daniel, Richard Barwell says: "I have made you and Pattle Godfathers and Fanny Godmother to my youngest boy, Edward James, the initials of Elizabeth Jane the name of his mother." Daniel Barwell had sailed for Europe in the *Osterley* at the end of 1778 and, although Richard was unaware of it at the time of writing, had been drowned on his way home off Middelburg on the coast of Holland. Thomas Pattle was a writer of 1765: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 150: Vol. XXVI, p. 112. Fanny is Frances Barwell, the child's aunt. See *post*, p. 184.

(19) *Francis Balfour*: the younger: writer, 1794: arrived in Bengal, September 26, 1795: furlough in Europe, 1801—1804: Collector of Tipperah 1805: Collector of Government Customs at Patna, 1813: out of the service, 1824.

The father received his first commission as assistant surgeon on August 10, 1777, and was first member of the Medical Board in 1805.

(20) *William Howard*—died in Calcutta on August 18, 1795, aged 46 years. He was "Apparitor" or "Cryer of the Court" and married Betty Ayre, widow, on February 2, 1778.

(21) *Robert Joseph Chambers*—Godson of Sir Philip Francis.

(22) *Elijah Barwell Impey*—obtained a commission as cornet in the 14th Dragoons in 1808 but soon retired from the Army in order to devote himself to literature. Published in 1846 a *Life of his father*—"a confused and controversial book, written to controvert the hostile view of Sir Elijah Impey's character and conduct taken by Macaulay in his *Essay on Warren Hastings*." (*Dictionary of National Biography*.) Died in 1849. An Assistant Surgeon of the name of Elijah Impey (commissioned in 1804) was serving in 1806 with the 6th Regiment of Bengal Cavalry, "Grand Army, and was still on the active list in 1813.

(23) *Edward Rowland Jackson*—son of Dr. Rowland Jackson. (See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*.) Lieutenant, 1778. Struck off, 1793. Married on January 28, 1779, Miss Phoebe Tuting, who died in Calcutta on November 20, 1785, aged 24 years, and was buried in South Part Street Cemetery close to her father-in-law, who died on March 29, 1784, aged 63. For baptism of another son, Warren Rowland, see entry of May 7, 1781.

(24) *James Barton*—a cousin of Richard Barwell; and probably son of James Barton, Master Attendant, who died in Calcutta on July 7, 1759.

William Barton—his brother, was Resident at Burdwan in 1773 and applied in 1782 for a passage on the *Grosvenor* for himself and his family; died at Copenhagen (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 147). A notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* issued by J. C. Pengel of Serampore, and dated January 18, 1802, directs "all persons having demands on his estate to make the same known, *sub pœna præclusi et perpetui silentii*, to Messrs. Thomas Terborek and George Daniel Vonder Pohlen, Merchants, of Copenhagen."

For *Diana Bertie, Joseph Cator, North Naylor* and his wife (*Anne Bertie*) see note (37).

Augustus Cleland is, of course, the well-known Collector of the "Jungleterry." He sailed for Europe with Mrs. Hastings on the *Atlas* Indiaman in January, 1784, but died on board before the ship was clear of the river and the pilot-sloop (which always accompanied the Indiamen until they were well out to sea) was sent back by Mrs. Hastings earlier than her husband expected in order that it might bring the body for burial on land. The tomb of Cleland is in the South Park Street cemetery close to the grave of Sir William Jones, who died ten years later (1794). An imposing monument to his memory was erected at Bhagalpur by Warren Hastings.

Lawrence Rawstorne obtained his first commission in 1778 as a cadet of infantry on the Bengal Establishment and became a Lieutenant-Colonel on June 30, 1804. He died in "the upper provinces" on October 16, 1805.

(25) *Edward Fenwick*: writer 1764: assistant at Midnapore, 1765. Removed from the Treasury to the Secretary's office in 1767, and dismissed the service in May, 1768, for supplying a copy of an official paper to William Bol's (author of the "Considerations"). Subsequently reinstated, as in May 1772 he was acting as military store-keeper at Fort William on a salary of Rs. 50 a month: but in August 1773 was suspended. Between 1775 and 1782, we find him, however, once more in official employ as second member of the Committee of Revenue and in charge of the Adawlut for the division of Calcutta on a salary of Rs. 800 a month: and, thereafter, as third member of the provincial Council of Dinajpore (Rs. 800) and later as Chief (Rs. 1,200). In July 1782 he became Commercial Resident at Moorshedabad, and is mentioned as such by William Hickey (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 278). From 1785 to 1789, he was junior Member of the Board of Trade and Superintendent of Offices at the Presidency (Rs. 1,200) and military paymaster and paymaster of Company's allowances to the King's troops (promised salary Rs. 4,000): he seems also to have been Salt Agent for the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. Gave a *fête champêtre* in May 1784 at "his country house situated upon the banks of the river in Garden Reach, about five miles from Calcutta, which had then-fore been the property and place of residence of my esteemed friends Mr. and Mrs. Lacam." (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 211). For an account of Benjamin Lacam, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 18—21. Fenwick fell into disgrace again in 1789, when he was dismissed from his post for misappropriation of public money: and in a letter of December 21, 1790, George Williamson, the Vendu Master or official auctioneer writes that he "has the misfortune to be in durance vile." On April 17, 1795, he was suspended from the service by order of the Court of Directors. In May 1802, he was permitted, on the ground of extreme poverty, to draw the allowances of a senior merchant out of employ. The allowance was reduced by half on August 1, 1804: but in February 1812, in consideration of his mental derangement, the full amount was again granted.

(26) *Thomas Hincham*—should be *Henchman*. Commercial Resident at Maldah 1771 and contractor for supplying piece goods for the Europe market on account of the Company. Retired January 1781: but returned to Bengal in April, 1784. Suspended and ordered to be prosecuted, 1785: but appointed Military Paymaster-General in 1786. "One of the most clear-headed and shrewdest men the East India Company ever had in their employ" (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 276). Married Mrs. Maria Gee, widow, on August 22, 1771.

Lady James, the sponsor, was the wife of Sir William ("Commodore") James, Director of the East India Company from 1786 to 1780, who was created a Baronet in 1779. He captured the sea fort of Severndroog (on the west coast, 78 miles below Bombay) in March 1755 from the Mahratta pirate Tulaji Angria: and after his death in 1783 his widow (who is stated in the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801, to have been an "Indian lady") built a tower at Shooters Hill to commemorate the exploit which still goes by the name of Severndroog Castle.

(27) *Lawrence Gall*—Aide-de-Camp to Warren Hastings when he married Sophia Fortnom, on August 14, 1777. (Major John Fortnom was civil architect in 1765 and "director of the works" in 1772.) Sent in his resignation on February 23, 1784. Died in Calcutta on April 27, 1806, aged 61 years. Gall's tomb in the South Park Street burial-ground bears the following inscription: "This is Lawrence Gall's tomb, consecrated by his son and daughters, as a testimony of filial affection which has superseded all other duties. It was thy fate, O Gall, to live long enough to see thyself neglected by those friends who ought to have served thee. To thee and thine fortune has been unkind." (*Ben. Obit.*, p. 90.) He seems to have ended his career as assessor to the justices of the peace for the town of Calcutta: for a man of the name of Lawrence Gall is given as the holder of that office in the Calcutta Directories of 1805 and 1806.

George Herbert Gall—whose baptism is here recorded, was appointed to a cadetship in the cavalry in August, 1795, and in 1806 was a captain in the Eighth Bengal Cavalry, and in command of the Body Guard.

(28) *Joseph Bernard Smith*—writer on the Bengal Establishment 1769: applied on January 11, 1786, for the subsistence allowance due to civilians out of employ, and for three years' leave of absence and a passage to Europe. Commercial Resident at Radhanagore, 1804: still in service but "out of employ," 1813—18. Died at Rungpore (where he was Commercial Resident at the time) on June 2, 1822. Served on the Jury in the Nuncomar case. Married Rose Morrow on February 7, 1780.

(29) *John Scott*—married Ann Smith on October 9, 1778.

(30) *Mrs. Brightman*—"In the middle of August (1783) I succeeded in getting a capital house in a central part of the town, and not far distant from the Court House. . . . It was the property of an old woman, a Mrs. Brightman, who let it to me at three hundred sicca rupees a month." (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 154). Edward Brightman, Senior, died in 1791 at the age of 43. Mrs. Elizabeth Brightman, who may have been the wife of the boy

Edward here baptized, died in Calcutta on March 21, 1801, at the age of 19. Edward Brightman the younger would then have been 21. He died in 1833.

(31) *Francis L' Herondell*—Attorney-at-Law. Subsequently married on February 10, 1782 to Miss Mary Le Clerc. Died, May 22, 1788, aged 37 years.

(32) *Bryan Glover*—Free merchant, died in Calcutta on March 17, 1780, some three weeks after this entry was made. He married on April 9, 1779, Elizabeth Stuart, the sister of Charles Cockerell. She did not long remain a widow and was married at Lucknow on November 20, 1781, to John Belli of the Company's service (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 152: and entry, post, of November 20, 1782).

Charles Cockerell embarked for Bengal in 1776, and became Postmaster-General. On his return to England in 1800, he sat in the House of Commons for nearly 30 years. He married in 1789, Maria Tryphena, daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart., and on her death in the same year, married Harriet Rushout, daughter of the first Lord Northwick. He was created a baronet in 1809, and was succeeded by his son Charles who took the name of Rushout. The firm of Cockerell Trail Palmer & Co., was a famous one in Calcutta. Cockerell's mother was the daughter of John Jackson of Clapham, who was the nephew and heir of Samuel Pepys. She became residuary legatee of Pepys' estate as well as of that Mr. Will: Hewer of Clapham, who is so often mentioned in the Diary. Thomas Daniell painted six pictures of Sezincote, Cockerell's seat in Gloucestershire, which were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818 and 1819. Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the brother of Charles Cockerell, was appointed in 1806 to be architect to the India House, defeating Sir John Soane and other candidates. The post, says Farington on the authority of a Director, was worth from £1,800 to £2,000 a year.

(32A) *Thomas Ivory*—"Gentleman," figures in a conveyance of house property in Calcutta dated May 1, 1784, with twenty-three others as a member of "a co-partnership of joint under writers" for "the Assurance of Ships and Merchandizes at Sea," formed on March 21, 1783, under the name of "the Bengal Insurance Company." (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 22).

(33) *Harriet Chicheley Plowden*: so-called after the first wife of Edward Wheler; see note (1). Mrs. Wheler astounded all the ladies, writes Francis, by the size of her hoop at the ball given in her honour on her arrival in Calcutta in November, 1777.

(34) *Thomas Evans*—Married Augusta Webb on November 20, 1778, and therefore great-uncle by marriage of W. M. Thackeray. Writer on the Bengal Establishment, April 7, 1773: having previously served in Madras under Warren Hastings. Deputy-Postmaster-General, March 18, 1774, and paymaster to the Artillery Brigade at Fort William, January 1, 1779. From 1781 to 1787 was paymaster to the garrison and artillery, Buxey to the Board of Trade, and Deputy Comptroller of the Salt Department. On February 26, 1787, he resigned and was accommodated with a passage to Europe on the *Earl of Oxford* (758 tons, Capt. John White, junior) which arrived in the Downs on September 18, 1787. Eighteen years later, he is permitted by the Court of

Directors to return to his rank on the Bengal Civil Establishment, and arrives in Calcutta on September 23, 1805: but remains out of employment until March 19, 1807, when he obtains the post of Collector of Government Customs at Hooghly. On September 16, 1808, he is appointed to officiate as Postmaster General.

(35) *Marian Larkins*. God-daughter of Mrs. Hastings.

(36) *William Byam Martin*. Married on April 8, 1776, to Charlotte Yorke. His son of the same name (writer, 1798) was junior assistant to the Resident at Fort Marlboro', 1805, Resident at Amboyna, 1810—1817 and Resident at Hyderabad, 1825—1830.

(37) *Thomas North Naylor*. The Company's Attorney: married Anne Bertie on September 17, 1778. Succeeded George Bogle as Commissioner of Law Suits in 1779. Incurred the displeasure of the Supreme Court in 1780 by advising Hastings and the Council to resist the proceedings taken against the Rajah of Kasijora, as not being within the jurisdiction of the Court. He was committed for contempt and detained in jail from March 1 to 16, 1780. He died on August 16 following: and his wife on March 6, during his imprisonment.

Anne Bertie and her sister *Diana* came out to India in April, 1777, with William Hickey (Memoirs, Volume II, p. 101) in "search of husbands," on board the *Sea-horse* Indiaman, of which their brother-in-law, Captain David Arthur, was in command. Diana married on October 31, 1780, Joseph Cator, a factor in the Company's service, who was a protégé of Richard Barwell. As regards the Duke of Ancaster who was the head of the Bertie family: see Farington Diary, February 13, 1809 ("Morning Post," April 6, 1923).

"On Wednesday last, the 8th instant, died at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, the Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, Marquess and Earl of Lindsey. The Dukedom, is extinct, and also the Marquisate: but the Earldom devolves on General Albemarle Bertie."

• (38) *George Mainwaring Kenderdine*. It is after this person or his descendants that Kenderdine's Lane in Calcutta is named. G. M. Kenderdine was entered as Surgeon on December 30, 1763, dismissed in 1769, and restored as "youngest surgeon never to rise." He had served for three years with the Army in Germany.

(39) *John Bristow*—see *Bengal Past and Present*, volume XXV. p. 150.

These were children born before his marriage at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782, to the beautiful Emma Wrangham, "Turban Conquest" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*. William Hickey (Memoirs, Volume III, p. 377) gives the following account of her:—

This season (1790) deprived Calcutta of one of its principal ornaments by the departure of Mrs. Bristow for England. She was a native of the little island of St. Helena, her maiden name Wrangham: a fine dashing girl, not by any means a regular beauty, but an uncommonly elegant figure and person: remarkably clever and accomplished. Upon her first arrival in India she had a number of suitors from whom she selected Mr. John Bristow, a respectable character, high in the Company's

service, but plain in features and dress. He was generally considered as possessing immense wealth, an opinion strengthened by his settling the extraordinarily large sum of £40,000 upon Miss Wrangham when he married her. At the time she left India she had by him four lovely children, the proper education of which was her chief motive for quitting her husband and embarking for Europe. She often declared that but for that object she should prefer residing in Bengal to any other part of the world.

Hickey says further that "her natural flow of spirits frequently led her into extravagances and follies of rather too masculine a nature." She rode astride, was an excellent shot, "rarely missing her bird," and would "without hesitation knock a man down if he presumed to offer her the slightest insult." Her younger sister married in 1787, Alexander Macleod of the Madras Civil Service (writer 1777: factor 1780: senior merchant 1790: Resident at Negapatam 1800: returned to England 1801: "out of the service" 1803). Macleod was the son of the Commander of an Indiaman "in which line he acquired a noble fortune" (Hickey, Vol. III, pp. 243, 244).

Captain Nutt—who acted as sponsor, is, no doubt, Captain Justinian Nutt of the Company's Marine Service. He was sworn in as Commander on May 26, 1779, and was Captain of the *Duke of Kingston* (723 tons) from November 7, 1779, to August 21, 1783, when she was burnt off Ceylon with the loss of seventy-nine lives. He then commanded the *Thetis* (804 tons) from January 6, 1787, to June 16, 1793. His career at sea which extended over a period of twenty-two years, began as third officer of the *Talbot* (499 tons, Capt. Sir Charles Hudson, Bart) on her third voyage to "the Coast" and China (February 15, 1771, to September 1, 1772): At the time of this entry (August 4, 1780) he was in Calcutta. The *Duke of Kingston* sailed from Portsmouth for "the Coast and Bay" on November 17, 1779, and arrived back in the Downs on October 20, 1781. Sir Eyre Coote embarked on board at Calcutta in October 1780, for conveyance to Madras, which was reached on November 5. The battle of Porto Novo and the relief of Wandiwash followed.

Mr. Stark, who acted as proxy, may have been Henry Stark, attorney of the Supreme Court, who served as deputy-sheriff to the following sheriffs: William Woolsworth (1777) Sir John D'Oyly (1779), Alexander Van Rixtel (1780). But there was also a James Stark, Surgeon: see note (58).

Mr. Shore—another sponsor, is Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

(40) *Charles Russell Deare*. Killed by a cannon shot on September 13, 1790, aged 40 "while commanding the Bengal Artillery in the action fought between a detachment of British forces and that of Tippo Sultan near Sattimungulum." His wife Catherine Stark, to whom he was married on June 5, 1779, died at Calcutta on September 6, 1790, aged 34. She can hardly have been more than 14 at the time of her marriage. Deare's brother, who erected a monument to him in the South Park-Street cemetery was Colonel George Deare of the Company's Service. He retired as a Major General on

April 30, 1804. Lord Valentia (Travels, Vol. I. p. 95) mentions that he was in command at Benares when he visited that place in March 1803. He stayed with him at his house at Secrole "the English Benares."

(41) *Nathaniel Middleton*—Resident at Lucknow at the time of the first Rohilla War (1774): succeeded by John Bristow. Reinstated by Hastings in September, 1776 after the death of Monson: but removed again by Hastings in 1780 and replaced by Bristow. Nick-named "Memory" Middleton, because when giving evidence before Parliament at the trial of Warren Hastings, "he exhibited a total want of recollection of all facts and circumstances which he conceived could tend to the prejudice of his patron." Married at St. John's Church on October 26, 1780, being then a junior merchant, Anna Frances, one of the sisters of Robert Morse, Advocate of the Supreme Court, and Sheriff of Calcutta in 1783—84, when William Hickey acted as deputy-sheriff (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 191). See baptism of a daughter Sophia on December 15, 1783. Another sister Sarah became the wife of William Cator, Factor, on November 4, 1780. Morse died in 1816. His portrait by Zoffany is in the possession of Mr. H. B. Middleton of Bradford Peverell, Dorchester. According to Dr. G. C. Williamson, Morse is represented playing on the cello, and his sister Ann (Mrs. Middleton) on the harpsichord. Sophia (Mrs. Cator) is turning the music and Cator stands close by.

(42) *John Petrie*—Collector of Government Customs, 1777. Acting Naval Storekeeper, 1780. Married Ann Keble on November 11, 1779. See note (49).

(43) *William Haverkam*—Married Ann Catherine Hadermack of Serampore on October 10, 1779.

(44) *Shearman Bird*—Appointed writer on the Bengal Establishment in 1766. Chief at Chittagong, October, 1786. Appointed Judge and Magistrate of Purneah, May, 1793: transferred on June 13, 1794, to be first Judge of the Provincial Court of Dacca and continued to hold that office until the present century. Was still in the service in 1813. Figures in Hickey's Memoirs (Vol. III pp. 213, 331) as a boon companion of that gentleman. His son of the same name as himself (writer 1801) was for many years Magistrate and Judge of Dacca and died there in 1824. His grandson, also named Shearman Bird, was for many years Superintendent in the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

Mrs. Coales, one of the god-mothers, was wife of Philip Coales, writer 1793: commercial resident at Patna, 1804.

Robert Bathurst, godfather, was also in the civil service: writer, 1772, collector of customs at Furruckabad, 1804.

"*Mr. Shakespear*"—see note (53).

Caroline Bird, whose baptism is recorded, was married at Naraingunge on May 29, 1840, to Christopher Roberts (writer 1783) who was at the time fourth judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Dacca.

(45) *James Hennes*—married Mrs. Mary Robertson on September 8, 1781. She was the widow of Archibald Robertson: and died in Calcutta on June 11, 1786, aged 32 years. Robertson's infant son (baptised May 7, 1773) died on June 21 1773.

(46) *William Nathan Wright Hewett*. Register at Midnapore, 1785 : Sal. Agent at Hidgelee, 1787—1793. Married Martha Tuting on September 16, 1785. See note (22) for her sister Phoebe.

(46A) *James Irwin*—married Selina Brooke on April 22, 1772. See note (63) for an account of William Augustus Brooke, his father in law.

(47) *Edward Colin (or Collins) Chambers*—Died, November 9, 1781, aged 6 months.

(48) *Francis Fowke*—Son of James Fowke who joined with Nuncomar in bringing a charge of accepting bribes against Hastings. As Secretary to the Council attended the famous meeting in June, 1777, when Clavering took the oath as Governor-General in supersession of Hastings. Appointed Resident at Benares, removed by Hastings and Barwell after Monson's death, restored by order of the Directors, again removed by Hastings in 1781, and once more restored under orders from London.

(49) *John Petrie*—see note (42).

William Petrie—the sponsor, was nominated to a writership on the Madras Establishment in 1765 and was member of the Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George from 1790 to 1793 and again from 1800 to 1809. Lord Valentia dined with him when he visited Madras in February, 1804, to meet the Governor (Lord William Bentinck) the Commander-in-Chief (Lieutenant General J. Stuart) and Mr. Deschamps Chamier the other Member of Council. (Travels, Vol. I. p. 385). In 1809 he was appointed Governor of Prince of Wales Island and died at Fort Cornwallis on October 27, 1816.

(50) *Patrick Heatly*.—Brother of Suetonius Grant Heatly (born 1751), (born 1751), Magistrate at Dacca who died unmarried in Bengal in 1793. The father was Andrew Heatly of Newport R. I. Patrick was subsequently "of the Company's Secret Council." Born in America, 1753, died in London, 1834. Married Anne Carey, but had no legitimate children. His portrait was painted by Zoffany: seated in a landscape on a rock and shading his eyes with a beaver hat. He is supposed to be looking out to sea and watching the ship which is taking his sister Temperance and her husband Captain William Green from India to America. Zoffany also painted a portrait group of Suetonius Grant Heatly with his sister Temperance. Both are seated in an apartment with an Indian pipe-bearer standing behind and another servant in a bent attitude before them, holding a long and elaborate staff in his hand. Suetonius Heatly is holding the mouth-piece of a hookah. Both pictures are in the possession of Capt. C. D. M. Blunt of Adderbury Manor, Banbury: the former was sold at Christie's on June 16, 1906 for £273 by Mr. G. H. Tod Heatly. A sister of Suetonius and Patrick, Mary Heatly, married Captain James Tod, and was the mother of Colonel James Tod, author of the *Annals of Rajasthan*. The Blunts are her great grand-children.

(50A) *Robert Robertson*—married Ann Casey on March 21, 1774.

(51) *John Stormont*:—identified by Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S. (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol. V. p. 149) with James Stormont who was assistant-surgeon at the Calcutta Hospital 1760—1766. Resigned on account of ill-

health 1766: returned and re-appointed 1768. A long correspondence dated August 30, 1770, is preserved in the Calcutta Record Office in which "John Stormonth" claims without success to be ranked from the date of his original appointment in 1760. Became Superintending Surgeon in 1787, resigned 1789, struck-off the list 1793. A James "Stormonth" died in Calcutta on December 19, 1788 aged 4 years.

(52) *William John Sands*.—Writer, 1797: Second Judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Benares, 1822. Retired on annuity, January 2, 1827.

(53) *John Shakespear*.—Father of John Talbot Shakespear, (writer, 1800) who married Emily Thackeray in Calcutta in 1803: and grand-father of Colonel Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear (1812—1861). Emily Shakespear died of cholera in Calcutta on September 29, 1824, aged 40: and J. T. Shakespear died at the Cape of Good Hope on board the Hon'ble Company's ship *Rose* on April 12, 1825.

Major (Thomas Theophilus) Metcalfe, the godfather (Director of the Company from 1789 to 1812) was father of Lord Metcalfe, who was baptised in St. John's Church on April 18, 1785.

(54) *Charlotte Wheler*.—Died unmarried in 1861. Edward Wheler died in Calcutta on October 10, 1784, aged 51. He was, as the inscription on his tomb in the South Park Street burial-ground informs us, the third son of Sir Edward Wheler, Bart. of Leamington Hastings in the county of Warwick. Hence the "Lady Wheler" among the sponsors of the child. Wheler's first wife was Harriet Chicheley Plowden, who died in 1778 seven months after her arrival in Calcutta. He then married on December 23, 1780, Charlotte Durnford by whom he had two daughters, Charlotte and Penelope.

George Livius.—The god-father, was sent by Francis with carriages to meet Wheler at Budge-Budge on his arrival in November, 1777, to take charge of the office of Member of the Supreme Council in succession to Monson: and Hastings, who was equally anxious to secure him as an ally, sent Alexander Elliot on a similar errand. But, notes Francis in his Diary, "in spite of all Mr. Elliot's courtship and artifices, Wheler passes by Budge-Budge and lands at Calcutta, immediately visits me and takes his seat at the Board." Livius was appointed Military Store-keeper in 1775 on the recommendation of Francis. In September, 1779, Hastings writes: "Mr. Livius is professedly patronized by Mr. Francis who passes his bills, and nine or ten lacks of rupees paid to him are yet unaccounted for." Cf the following passage in "The Great Proconsul" by Sydney C. Grier (pp. 266, 267): "Of late (May, 1781) Messrs. Livius, Shee and Ducarell, with other adherents of Mr. Francis, have made a vigorous effort against Mr. Hastings, drawing into their number Colonel Watson and others, and holding regular meetings after the manner of those 'associations' now fashionable at home, chiefly at the house of Mr. Fay, the spouse of the unfortunate lady who was once Hyder's captive." In a letter dated July 26, 1784, Colonel Henry Watson recommends as the most suitable place for a "Military Buryal Ground,

a place near the corner of the Esplanade continuous to the Bridge leading to Mr. Livious' Gardens." These "Gardens" are the present Magistrate's house and grounds at Alipore, and were also known as the "Lodge." Livius lived there with Francis and in April, 1780, purchased the house from him for Rs. 30,000. In later years it was the home of the novelist Thackeray whose father Richmond Thackeray was appointed Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs on December 24, 1811.

Mrs. Watson—who acted as sponsor for Lady Wheler, is, no doubt, the wife of Colonel Watson who resigned the office of Chief Engineer in February, 1785 (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III. p. 269) and sailing some months later in the *Deptford* Indiaman, died at Dover on September 17, 1786, on being landed from the ship. He left his property which, according to Hickey, amounted to upwards of £300,000, to his natural daughter Susan, who married Lord Carbery. The widow, having nothing to look to "except the dock lands in the neighbourhood of Calcutta," returned to India in the same year (1786) and says Hickey, "became acquainted with Lieutenant Newell, of the Company's military service, who shortly afterwards quitted the army to engage in making indigo, by which he amassed a prodigious fortune, married her, and they are enjoying themselves amidst the highest degree of splendour in England." The Garrison and up-country registers preserved at St. John's Church record the marriage on January 6, 1793, at Dinapore, of Alexander Newell and Maria Theresa Watson, widow, relict of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Watson.

(55) *Henry Swinhoe*—Admitted as an Attorney of the Supreme Court in 1779. Died October 27, 1808, aged 56. Married Jane Maul on March 7, 1780. She died on February 22, 1833, aged 77. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 14, 1799, announced "wild beasts for sale at Mr. W. Smith's, No. 230, Lall Bazar, opposite Mr. H. Swinhoe's, the Attorney" and the public were notified that "Any person viewing them for curiosity's sake only will not be offended if half a rupee should be expected by the black keeper."

Hannah Swinhoe, the subject of this entry, was married on March 15, 1804, to Lieutenant Gilbert Nicholetts, of the 2nd Bengal N. I. A son was born at Allyghur on May 27, 1805. Another daughter, Letitia, was married on October 7, 1805, to Lieutenant William Nott, of the 20th Bengal N. I., afterwards Major-General Sir William Nott (d. 1845). There is a portrait of Nott in the Calcutta Town Hall and a statue at Caermarthen, his native town. The Swinhoe family is still represented in Calcutta.

(56) *Apollonia Charlotte Larkins*—A god-daughter of Mrs. Hastings, who was married at St. John's Church on August 8, 1777, under her maiden name of "Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusetin."

(57) *The Hon'ble Colonel Ole Bie*.—Danish Governor of Serampore (Fredriknagore): born at Trondhjem in Norway in 1733 and was the son of a merchant and Stads Kapteyn. He married Wendel Elisabeth Panck, daughter of Paul Panck, Governor of the Danish East Indies, and came to Frederiknagore in 1762. He was a disciple of Swartz at Tranquebar and befriended Marshman

and Ward when they arrived at Serampore, refusing to dismiss them at the request of the English East India Company's representatives at Calcutta. Contributed largely to the building of the church of St. Olaf, which was completed in 1805. Died at Government House, Serampore, on May 18, 1805, at the age of 72. His successor, Colonel Jacob Krefting, died also at Serampore on October 7, 1828, after forty four years' residence in India. Heber records in his Narrative (Vol. I. pp. 50—51) an interchange of visits with Krefting in 1823.

(58) *James Stark*—Assistant Surgeon 1773: Surgeon 1778. Resigned 1789 but remained in India. The Stark family is still represented in Calcutta.

(59) *William Palmer*—(Senior) Entered the Bengal Army from the King's Service, 1766: was Military Secretary to Warren Hastings until 1782 when he became Resident at Lucknow: at Scindia's Court, 1794-98 and at Poona, 1798—1801: afterwards in command at Monghyr. Lieutenant-General: died at Berhampore, May 20, 1814. Married a Begum of the Oudh Family, and was painted with her by Zoffany. Of his sons John (born 1767, died 1836) was the "Prince of Merchants": his bust is in the Town Hall. William (1782—1867) the subject of this entry, founded in 1814 the great banking house of Palmer & Co., at Hyderabad in which the Rumbolds were partners: his heavy financial transactions with the Nizam ended in his ruin and in the censure of the Governor-General (the Marquess of Hastings.)

(60) *Hastings Impey*—Writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1799: Registrar to the Adawlut at Allahabad, 1804: died in Calcutta, February 4, 1805, aged 24. His brother Edward (born in 1785) was appointed a writer in 1800 and served in Beerbhoom and Hooghly. In 1818, he was judge of the provincial court of appeal at Moorsherabad: and was suspended from office in 1819. He went to Europe and was dismissed from the service in 1822.

(61) *William Henry Sealy*—Writer, 1798: arrived in Bengal, November 6, 1798. Died in Calcutta on August 25, 1800. See note (12). Two of his brothers were also in the Bengal Civil Service: Cudbert (1796 to 1837) and John Nathaniel (1797 to 1815). Another member of the family, Cudbert Thornhill Sealy (writer 1836) died at Berhampore on August 5, 1847.

(62) *Thomas Whingates*: Ensign in the infantry, August 22, 1780. Major November 2, 1803: attached to 25th B. N. I., January 27, 1804. The surname is misspelled "Whingates" in a subsequent entry on November 9, 1783.

(63) *Henry Chicheley Plowden*—(the father) writer 1773: Postmaster-General, 1779: Collector of Customs at Moorshedabad, 1802: acting commercial Resident at Etawah and Calpee, 1812: married on July 14, 1781, Eugenia Brooke, a daughter of William Augustus Brooke. According to S. C. Crier, Brooke owed to Edward Wheler his first appointment in the Company's service (1769), and a profitable post at Patna which he held for many years. Hastings stopped at his house at Bankipore in March, 1784 and Heber was his guest in 1828 at Secrole near Benares. In 1794, he was judge of the Court of Appeal at the Presidency and appears to have lived at Belvedere. Lord

Valentia (Travels Vol. I. p. 70) stayed in February 1803 on his way up-country at his house at Hooghly, "very pleasantly situated on a bend of the river, whence is commanded a very beautiful prospect." When he died at Benares on July, 10, 1833, at the age of 81, he had been judge of the Court of Appeal there and Agent to the Governor General since 1804, and had served the Company for 56 years. Plowden resigned the service in 1807.

(64) *George Templer*.—Contractor for Elephants, 1779. Writer 1805. Sheriff of Calcutta, 1816. Appointed Commercial Resident at Jungypore on April 17, 1818. Died at Calcutta on July 20, 1819. Married Joan Paul at Dacca on March 5, 1781.

(65) *Edward Brampton*: was Deputy Sheriff to the following Sheriffs of Calcutta: John Hare (1782) and Jeremiah Church (1783). Died June 18, 1790.

(66) *Anthony Polier*—A Swiss by birth, who went out to India in 1757 at the age of 16 and entered the Company's service. Became assistant engineer at Calcutta and Chief Engineer in 1762. Promotion being refused on account of his nationality, he resigned in 1776 and entered the service of Shuja-ud-dowlah and Asaf-ud-Dowlah, Nawabs of Oudh. Figures prominently in Zoffany's famous picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match." Later held a military command at Delhi. Appointed a Lieutenant Colonel in the Company's service by Hastings with leave to reside at Lucknow where Hodges, the artist, stayed with him on his return from an expedition to Gwalior, in May, 1783. Returned to Europe in 1788: and through his lavish display of wealth was attacked by robbers and murdered in 1795. Was the first European to succeed in obtaining a complete collection of the Vedas. (Buckland).

(67) *John Belli*:—married the widow of Bryan Glover and sister of Charles Cockerell at Lucknow on November 20, 1781: see note (31).

(68) *James Fraser*.—A writer of this name arrived in Bengal in 1796 and was appointed assistant to the Export Ware-house Keeper. He was out of employ in 1800 and resigned the service in India in the following year. The father may be the James Fraser who died in Calcutta in 1832 at the age of 83.

(69) *Richard Chicheley Plowden*.—Son of Richard Chicheley Plowden: appointed to a writership on November 1, 1798. Arrived in India on September 19, 1799: became Salt Agent at Hidgellee and died at the Cape of Good Hope on September 21, 1825. See note (1).

(70) *Belvedere Tolly*.—No doubt named after "Belvedere" which her father had purchased from Warren Hastings in February 1780, and which was advertised for sale by his representatives in October, 1784, and again in February, 1802. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 145.

(71) *Allen Macpherson*: married in 1781 at Berhampore (being then a Major) Eliza Dell Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Fairfield, Inverness, and grand-daughter of the eighth Lord Lovat. Their grand-son was W. C. Macpherson, C.S.I. (Bengal C.S. 1877—1911). Mrs. Macpherson's sister married Captain Hiram Cox after whom Cox's Bazar is named.

The Farington Diary.

MORE GLIMPSES INTO FORGOTTEN INDIA.

THE second volume of the Diary of Joseph Farington, R.A., has been published, containing the entries from August 1802 to September 1804, but the serial daily publication of extracts in the *Morning Post* which continued until October 20, carries the chronicle to the end of the year 1811. The references to matters of Anglo-Indian interest have not, as a rule, been numerous; and notice has been taken of the majority of these in *Bengal Past and Present* from time to time. Here are however two entries relating to Lord Wellesley which have not yet found a place in these pages.

April 8, 1811: (Sir Thomas) Lawrence spoke of Lord Wellesley. With all His abilities He has so great a share of vanity that at the age of abt. 53 Lawrence has noticed that when His Lordship sat to him for His Portrait that His *Lips* were painted.

June 15, 1811. She (the Marchioness of Thomond, neice of Sir Joshua Reynolds) spoke of the Marquess Wellesley who by His excessive extravagance has expended His Fortunes. Yet under these circumstances He had a George made for Him as Knight of the Garter which is wholly composed of diamonds, and the price of it £2,000. It is now at Picket and Rundalls the Jewellers, who however will not deliver it till the money is paid. Though He is an Ugly little man, his personal vanity is excessive. . . . He is sedulously courting the Prince Regent's favour by every means in his power.

Lawrence was constantly communicating to Farington items of gossip which he picked up from his distinguished sitters. The following, for instance, reveals an incident which has hitherto escaped general notice:

July 27, 1811. Lord Castlereagh sat to Lawrence this (morning). He told Lawrence that after the measure of the Union [with Ireland] had been effected, an offer was made to Him by the Ministry (Mr. Pitt, etc.) of the Governor-Generalship of *Bengal*, which He declined.

There is no mention of this offer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and one wonders when it was actually made. Wellesley, who was Lord Mornington at the time of his appointment, was Governor-General from 1798 to 1805. Castlereagh, on the other hand, accepted office under Pitt as President of the Board of Control in 1802, two years after the passing of the Act of Union, and supported Wellesley against the Court of Directors.

On September 7, 1811, Farington went to stay with his old friend Lestock Wilson, a retired "Company's Captain" at Coopersale Grove, Epping, his house in the country. We have already come across Wilson

in our former article on the Farington Diary (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 28, 29) and have there learned that he made his first voyage in 1771 as fourth officer of the *Calcutta* (499 tons) and was sworn in as Commander of the *Carnatic* (758 tons) on February 21, 1786. In 1789 he was wrecked off the coast of Banca in the *Vansittart* (828 tons) and after commanding the *Exeter* (1,200 tons) had retired from the Service in 1799 (1).

The Captain of an Indiaman was a personage of high dignity. He ranked with a post captain in His Majesty's Navy and when his ship arrived at one of the Company's ports was received with a salute of thirteen guns, the guard of the fort turning out and presenting arms. His was also a position of considerable opportunities for emolument. When the Company lost its monopoly in 1833, Captain John Innes of the *Abercrombie Robinson*, in a memorial for compensation for loss of appointment, estimated his income as Commander, upon an average of his last three voyages, exclusive of profits or investments, at £6,100 per voyage (2). Instances were known of a commander making no less than £30,000 out of the "double voyage," that is to say, from London to India and thence to China and home: and it was quite usual for a voyage to yield £8,000 to £10,000.

Lestock Wilson made use of such fortune as he had acquired by setting up in business as an East India agent in the city at 2 Frederick's place, Old Jewry, and we find him in 1811 as "ship's husband" of the *Cambridge*, an Indiaman of 758 tons, which sailed on May 12 from Torbay on her first voyage to Madeira, Madras and Bengal under the command of Captain Charles Mortlock, and returned on July 26, 1812. On her next voyage, which was to St. Helena and China and which lasted from March 30, 1816, to June 8, 1817, she was chartered to the Company by Wilson's partner, George Palmer.

It would seem from Farington's jottings that Wilson was full of conversation. He waxed eloquent on "the present very distressed state of commerce."

West India produce is a drug, scarcely producing more than pays for the freight.—Cotton was never known to be at so low a price: Coffee has fallen more than two-thirds in price. East India produce is, as it may be said, locked up, there being no market for it.—His House do not expect to make a shilling profit this year (1811).

(1) Wilson's daughter Alicia Magdalena, married Francis Beaufort (1774-1857) rear admiral and hydrographer whose sister Mrs. Edgeworth was the mother of Maria Edgeworth the novelist by her fourth husband. Their son, Lestock P. Beaufort, was a Judge of the Supreme Court at the Cape of Good Hope, and presented a number of valuable prints and sketches by Thomas Daniell and Samuel Davis to the Victoria Memorial Hall and the Indian Museum. One of the sketches has been reproduced in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV, p. 12).

(2) His figures were as follows: 18 months' pay at £10 per month, £180: 56 tons "privilege" allowed at £4 per ton, £224: from port to port at Rs. 30 per candy, £336: homeward at £33 per ton, £1,484: two-fifths tonnage from port to port, 478 tons at Rs. 30 per candy, less charged by the Hon'ble Company £2 per ton, £1,012: "privilege", £100: passage money after allowing for the provisions and stores provided for the passengers, £1,500,

Five years earlier Wilson had been equally apprehensive of the future. On April 23, 1806, Farington dined with him, and records the following :

Wilson seemed to be much dispirited at the appearance of difficulties arising from the measures of Prussia which has caused our Administration to block up the rivers which lead to Hamburg and the Prussian dominions.—He said the situation of the *East India Agents* is very critical because the articles consigned to them from India may not sell at the public sales, in which case should they accept bills drawn upon them by their correspondents in India for the supposed value of the articles, they might commit themselves to a degree of responsibility beyond their means of answering. He said there is now in Indigo to the amount of a *million* in value : but should the exportation be prohibited, it would lay as a drug.

There had certainly been one big bankruptcy in December, 1810. William Devaynes, head of the banking house of Devaynes Noble and Dawe, in Pall Mall, and M.P. for Barnstaple in 1802, had been a great personage in Leadenhall street, for years. He was a Director of the Company from 1770 to 1805, and had served the office of Deputy Chairman four times (1777, 1779, 1784, 1790) and of Chairman six times (1780, 1785, 1789, 1793, 1794). The *Devaynes*, an Indiaman of 600 tons, was named after him, and was a well-known vessel, making six voyages to "the Coast and Bay" between the years 1802 and 1814. After his death, the great house came to grief, and Lestock Wilson, who was one of the trustees in bankruptcy, told Farington on December 23, 1810 that they would not pay twenty shillings in the pound, so that there would not be a penny left for any of the partners.

Disaster, however, had not yet overtaken Wilson, and in spite of his forebodings he was able to live in a condition of considerable comfort. He had a town house in Harley street which cost him £4,000, and the furniture about £5,000, "of which £2,000 was in Glass, viz. large plates, chandelier, etc." For his place at Epping he had paid about £6,000. All these scraps of information are scrupulously transferred to his diary by Farington.

On September 9, Wilson mentioned to his guest the death of his old shipmate, Captain John Blanchard (or Blanshard, as it is given in Hardy's Register) of the *York* East Indiaman who had died about five years before "at His house in New Ormond Street, London," leaving an income of £600 or £700 a year to his widow.

Captain John Atkinson Blanshard entered the Company's service on February 22, 1770, as third officer of the *Royal Captain* (499 tons, Capt. Edward Barrow) and sailed in her to Bencoolen and China, returning on July 8, 1771. He then shipped on board the same vessel as second officer on January, 30, 1773, for a voyage to St. Helena and China but they were wrecked off Pelawar (query : the island of Palawan) on December 17, 1773. He obtained command on April 30, 1777 of the *York* (578 tons) and took her to Bombay, with Lestock Wilson as third officer, returning on December 20, 1778. On his next voyage, which was to the coast and China and lasted from

February 12, 1780, to October 20, 1781, Wilson was his first officer. He took the *York* again to the coast and China from March 11, 1783, to July 12, 1784, with Wilson as first officer: and his name then disappears from Hardy's "Register of East India Shipping." On his second voyage in command of the *York* Blanshard (said Wilson) took out with him his brother the Reverend Thomas Blanshard who had been appointed Chaplain at Calcutta by the Court of Directors. A Miss Boileau was among the passengers, and the chief officer falling in love with her, "at Madrass Mr. Blanchard married Wilson to Miss Boileau." Samuel Davis of Benares hog spear fame, whom we shall encounter again presently, and William Hodges the Academician, were either on board the *York* or on the *London* (758 tons, Capt. Daniel West) which left Portsmouth in her company on February 12, 1780: and on September 24, 1794, the marriage took place of "Saml. Davis, Sr. Mercht. Hon. English India Co.'s Service, to Henrietta Boileau of Burdwan, Spinster," who was presumably a sister of Lestock Wilson's wife.

Wilson goes on to tell the story of the Reverend Thomas Blanshard, who officiated with William Johnson at the Consecration Service held at St. John's Church on June 24, 1787, and succeeded him as Senior Chaplain when he left for Europe in January, 1788. The Chaplains' salaries had some years earlier been increased from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 a month. We have already learned this and other details from Farington (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 33) and the entry is worth quoting:

"June 21, 1806.—Baily, Curate of St. George's [in the East where Farington's brother was Rector] called. Has had an offer of Chapliancy to Bengal.—Salary £1,200 a yr.—and after 15 years if He comes home to have Pension of £250 a yr.—also £100 for outfit.—Went with Him to (Thomas) Daniell who told Him a *single man* might accept it and live upon it, but a married man could not. The House, Palanquin, etc., which a wife wd. require to make a suitable appearance could not be had for £100 a month.

Chaplains however had other opportunities for making money. Permission was given to them to remit up to £1,000 a year through the Company's bills: and these remittances could also be made in goods by the Company's ships, such shipments being termed in the accounts "private trade." Again every season a syndicate would send out from Calcutta a shipload of goods as a trading adventure to China and the Straits. Blanshard, says Wilson, "remained more than 20 years at Calcutta, in which time he accumulated a fortune of £30,000."

There is singularly little about him in Archdeacon Hyde's "Parochial Annals of Bengal," but William Hickey in his "Memoirs" throws some light upon the methods by which he grew rich. The story opens fairly well. When "Mrs." Hickey died on December 25, 1783, Blanshard performed the funeral service and upon receiving the fee wrote to the disconsolate husband: "I can only say that you have been too kind in your acknowledgment for what was only my duty and under that idea I wished to have returned what I found

enclosed, but concluded that I was not sufficiently acquainted with you to be convinced, or even to suppose that such a measure would be so agreeable to you as my acceptance of it." He adds that he has just returned "from a five weeks' trip with my young ladies towards Patna."

In June 1790 Hickey was not in very good health. Calling one day at Steuart's, the coachmaker's, he there met one Thomas Maudsley who besides being a coachmaker was also an undertaker. He inquired of him whether it was possible to secure a particular spot for himself in the burying ground as the graves were multiplying so rapidly that the part in which "Mrs." Hickey had been buried was nearly surrounded. The answer was in the affirmative. A fortnight later he was presented with a bill for a hundred sicca rupees for a vault and received at the same time an intimation that "if he should have the misfortune to use it," a further sum of sicca rupees one hundred would be payable to the clergyman of the Presidency for permission fees. This permission fee, says Hickey, had just then been for the first time demanded, and he took no notice of the letter. A month later he was again dunned. The demand now was for a fee of Rs. 50 for permission to make the vault, the remaining fifty rupees being leviabie in the event of the vault being used as a foundation for a monument. Hickey describes the demand as "blackguard and disgraceful" but sent the fifty rupees. He proceeds to relate various other incidents of a discreditable nature and asserts that a sort of partnership existed between Blanchard and Palmer, the predecessor of Maudsley in the undertaking business, under which Blanchard was allowed twenty per cent. of the gross amount of all bills for funerals. A strange letter from Blanshard to Palmer is quoted in the course of which the following occurs: "You're grossly mistaken in supposing that our profitable season is the hot weather or the rains; that is by no means the fact, November and the early part of December for me; that is the period of our harvest."

The pair of worthies quarrelled and went to law: and the result of the equity suit which followed was that Blanchard was obliged to pay full costs and abandon the whole of certain claims which he preferred against Palmer amounting to five thousand sicca rupees.

Hickey continues: "With such an account as the foregoing of the Reverend Mr. Blanchard it would not surprize any one to hear that he accumulated a large fortune with which, accompanied by a sister who was as deserving a woman as any in the world, he, in about eighteen months after the undertaker's attack, embarked for Europe."

Blanshard never reached England and met with a tragic fate, as the result of his parsimony, which was thus related to Farington:

To make His expence of returning to England as little as He could He took His passage in a Dutch ship which was in bad condition. When the ship arrived at St. Helena where there was then a fleet returning to England, it was represented to Him that it would be imprudent in him to venture further in Her, and several Captains offered Him a passage for Himself and several under His care. This He declined, it

was believed from an apprehension that though nothing would be charged for the passage, yet it would be proper for him to present some compliment. Accordingly He with His party proceeded in the Dutch Ship, but when the fleet arrived off the Western Islands, Her condition was so bad that the necessity of quitting became apparent. He was therefore with His party taken on board another ship new and well built.—At the time of his making this change, the weather was becoming bad. His servant accompanied Him, but when board the new ship He recollected having left His Master's watch on board the Dutch Ship to which he returned to obtain it. By this time, the weather was such that He was obliged to remain in the Dutch Ship. The Gale increased—the Ships were dispersed—and the new ship into which Mr. Blanchard had gone foundered, having never after been seen or heard of. It was remarkable that the Dutch Ship kept afloat during this storm and was afterwards taken possession of by a French Ship which saved the lives of the people on Board, including Mr. Blanchard's servant, after which it being impossible to carry the Dutch Ship into any Port, she was left to go to the bottom.

Other money-makers were more fortunate. It was possible to shake the pagoda tree in all manner of ways, and even by conducting the official Gazette : as witness the following entry made while Farington was staying with Wilson :

September 10, 1811.—Mr. Frank Horsley, Brother to the late Bishop of St. Asaph came in for a short time, being on His way to His House at Hollingberry 10 miles further in the country. He returned from Calcutta 3 or 4 years ago with a handsome fortune made by conducting and publishing the Calcutta Gazette.

Francis Horsley appears in the Calcutta Directory for 1805 as " Superintendent of the Hon'ble Company's Press." The office was then in Esplanade Row : that of the *India Gazette* was " behind Writers' Buildings," of the *Hurkaru* in Loll Bazar, and of the *Telegraph* in Cossitollah. The first number of the " Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser " appeared on March 4, 1784 : in pursuance of an official announcement on February 9 of the same year that " the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council have permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a gazette under their sanction and authority." Horsley left for England " via America " in the American ship *Martha* in January, 1808.

Before he brought his visit to Lestock Wilson to a close, Farington met no less a person than Samuel Davis, the friend and patron of Thomas and William Daniell (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 9—10). Davis had been elected a Director of the Company on October 10, 1810, upon the death of Sir Francis Baring after an unsuccessful contest earlier in the same year, in which Richard Twining had defeated him. (Diary, April 11, 1810). On September 16, 1811, he talked to Farington about the expense of living at Calcutta, which he had left in 1806.

He said that He thought £3,000 a year was a sum required to live handsomely and that it would go as far as the same sum would do in London. House rent is very dear at Calcutta. His House cost him £600 a year unfurnished. Butcher's meat, Poultry, Butter, etc., are much cheaper than in London. A fine sirloin of Beef costs 7s. 6d. Leg of mutton 2s. 6d. Many servants are required, but their wages are very low, not more than £10 a year. Wine costs about as much as it does in London.

On the following day (September 17, 1811) at eleven o'clock Farington left Epping Grove with Mr. and Mrs. Davis, "being accommodated with a seat in their carriage."

Mr. Davis being an India Director I had some conversation with him, respecting the manner in which the Directors carry on business. He said that all business is done by Committees. The Secret Committee which has the care of all the political dispatches which require secret consideration, consists of three Members, viz. The Chairman: the Deputy Chairman: and one other Director. The days of meeting established for the Directors are Wednesdays and Fridays: but more particularly the former on which day a dinner is provided at the London Tavern to which the (Directors) adjourn after business is concluded. When they meet in the morning the first business is to read papers, after which Committees are formed for the purpose of doing what is necessary, there are Committees of Shipping, of correspondence—of Warehouses etc., etc. The appointment of Chairman is not by rotation but by election, and a Director may pass His life without being in that situation.

An insight is given on June 26, 1811, into the jealousy with which the Directors looked upon the presence in India of persons unconnected with the Company's service.

Dr. Hughes I called upon and saw Him. Mr. (Richard) Twining, the India Director, and His Two Sons were there. He spoke to me abt, a young man of the name of Haynes who had applied to the Court of Directors for leave to go to India as a Portrait and Miniature Painter, and He wished to obtain some information respecting Him. The Directors have no objection to an artist going, but have to guard against persons going with other views, but under the name of artists.

The fame of Mr. Haynes as an artist in Calcutta has not survived. The names of two persons of the name of Haynes are given in the Directory of 1813: but the occupation of neither is disclosed. The first of these, J. Haynes, is stated to have been at Moorshedabad since 1787: the second is merely described as "G. Haynes."

On September 27, 1811, Farington went on another visit to an Anglo-Indian friend. His host upon this occasion was William Wells, the shipbuilder, who had a house at Red Leaf, Sevenoaks. Wells had been second officer of

the *Lascelles* Indiaman (824 tons) when Richard Atherton Farington, the Diarist's brother, was in command, and made a voyage in her to China which lasted from April 6, 1792, to May 6 1793. He had then been appointed captain of the *Albion* (961 tons) and after taking her to China (May 2, 1794 to December 28, 1795) had left the Company's Service to become joint partner with his brother in the Greenland and Blackwall Docks and shipyards. Seven years later the brothers sold their interest for £140,000 to Sir Robert Wigram, the founder of the famous Money Wigram fleet of clippers, who started life as a surgeon in the Company's Service. He made two voyages to St. Helena and Bencoolen in the *Duke of Richmond* (March 2, 1768 to June 16, 1769) and to St. Helena, Bencoolen and China in the *British King* (February 21, 1770 to May 25, 1772)—and then opened a little drug shop. His enormous fortune was amassed "by obtaining shares of Indiamen and by degrees becoming Ships Husband to several ships."

While staying with William Wells, Farington met Philip Francis who was then seventy-one years of age (his death took place in 1818) and thus records his impressions :—

October 11, 1811 :—Sir Philip Francis was in India (Bengal) in the time of Mr. Hastings being Governor there, Sir Philip being sent out with General Clavering by the English Government for some political purposes.—He there opposed Mr. Hastings and personally in such a manner as to cause a Duel between them in which Sir Philip was wounded.—When Mr. Hastings was tried before the House of Lords Sir Philip was made one of the Managers against him and exhibited an inveteracy of hatred such as to disgust those who think liberally. A few years ago He was made a Knight of the Bath (3). I now judged Him to be 68 or towards 70 years old, but well looking for His age. I observed He drank a few glasses of wine, perhaps 3 or 4, but seemed to be one who takes great care of Himself.—There was no conversation of an interesting kind. A little was said abt. the exportation of our coin and the ill effects of it. Sir Philip expressed himself against the exportation, but said the arguments which He heard on the subject He never could understand, "they were to him gibberish."

About a year earlier, on June 29, 1810, we get the following side-light on the impeachment of Warren Hastings :—

Taylor spoke of Major Scott Waring to whom Mr. Hastings gave a Bond for £5,000 for the trouble He had respecting the Trial of Mr. Hastings. . . It was by the ill-judged zeal of the Major that the Trial of Mr. Hastings took place, which had not the Major irritated and provoked the *opposition* then in parliament would not have happened.

(3) Extract from the Farington Diary of October 30, 1806 : "Sir G. H. Barlow was created at Knight of the Bath yesterday.—Sir Philip Francis also."—Barlow's knighthood was a solatium for his failure to obtain the succession to Cornwallis as Governor-General in 1805 : (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 26—29).

Some account of Major John Scott—or Scott Waring as he subsequently became—has already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 14—15). He was M.P. for West Looe, a pocket borough in Cornwall, from 1784 to 1800. The Taylor mentioned is John Taylor, who became Editor of the "Morning Post" about the year 1787, and died in 1832.

There was, however, another John Taylor (1781-1864) who was a publisher and the author of "Junius Identified with a Distinguished Living Character," of which the first edition appeared in 1813, and a supplement, in which the question of handwriting was discussed, in 1817. On the publication of this book, Erskine wrote: "I have no difficulty in saying that, though he (Francis) has been for many years a very kind acquaintance, I should be obliged, if the publication were the capital offence, and I were upon his jury, to find him guilty without leaving the box." Posterity has agreed to accept this view, and the controversy on the subject of the authorship of the "Letters of Junius" may be regarded as settled: but sixty years ago there were persons in Calcutta who were not convinced of the complicity of Francis.

Rai Promatha Nath Mullick Bahadur has called our attention to the following extract from the issue of "The Friend of India" for February 22, 1855, which is, he states, quoted in its turn from the "Englishman":

There is a gentleman in Calcutta who possesses an original document which will ever set at rest the question of the authorship of Junius's Letters. It bears three signatures—that of Chatham on the right hand side and on the left that of Dr. Wilmot and J. Dunning. Those who have seen the document are induced from the appearance of the ink, paper, and the writing, to consider it genuine.

The key to the enigma is, we think, to be found in the name of Dr. Wilmot. Dr. James Wilmot, rector of Barton on Heath, was the uncle of Olive Wilmot Serres, the wife of John Thomas Serres (1759-1825) who was for a time marine-painter to George the Third. The father of Olive Wilmot Serres was a house-painter at Warwick: but she entertained other notions of her origin. On July 14, 1820, she presented a petition to the House of Commons, in which she asserted that she was "Princess Olive of Cumberland," the legitimate daughter of William Duke of Cumberland, second son of George the Third, and claimed recognition as such. Her striking resemblance to the Royal Family seems to have convinced many persons of the truth of her story: "She is the very image of our Royal family," wrote Thomas Creevey on November 11, 1820 (Creevey Papers, edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell: 1903. Vol. 1. p. 339). But her claim was totally unsupported by evidence, and she died in the King's Bench "rules" in 1834. Later on, in 1860, her daughter Lavinia Ryves attempted to obtain a legal declaration of legitimacy and was equally unsuccessful. There were about seventy documents in the case, the signatures on which were pronounced to be forgeries. It was another of Olive Wilmot Serres' delusions that her uncle, Dr. James Wilmot, was the writer of the Letters of Junius.

Two facsimiles are given in Mr. Edward Twisleton's book on "The Handwriting of Junius" (London 1871) of certain specimens of Dr. Wilmot's handwriting which were published by Mrs. Serres in 1813. In one of these so-called specimens the initials of Wilmot are attached to a statement dated "March 17—67" and asserting that "I have this day completed my last letter of Ju—s and sent the same to L—d S—ne" (Lord Shelburne). This is a palpable forgery and was denounced as such in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1813 by George Woodfall who had himself published an edition of the "Letters." As a matter of fact, the first letter signed "Junius" appeared on November 21, 1768, or eighteen months after the time when, according to the statement attributed to Dr. Wilmot, the last letter is supposed to have been completed. Moreover, there are serious physical difficulties in the way of connecting Wilmot with Junius. From the year 1770 onwards he was curate of Kenilworth and during 1771, when Junius must have been living in or near London, the entries in the parish register show that he was habitually residing at Kenilworth which could not in those days be conceivably reached from London in less than two days.

The fact is that there can no longer be any doubt that Philip Francis was the writer. In an entry in his Diary of January 29, 1821, Creevey records:

Saturday I dined at the Fox Club. . . . Before dinner we had some conversation upon the old story whether Francis was Junius or not, Grey (Charles, the 2nd Earl) and (Lord) Erskine expressing their most perfect confidence that he was. Erskine mentioned a most curious thing which was confirmed by Lord Thanet (Sackville Tufton, 9th Earl). It seems they were both dining with Lady Francis, since Sir Philip's death, when Erskine asked her if Francis ever told her, or whether she ever collected from his conversation, that he was the author of Junius. To which she answered that he had never mentioned the subject, and that the only allusion to it was in a book. So she went out of the room and brought back the little book "Junius Identified," and in the title page was written "Francis," and signed with his name: "I leave this book as a legacy to my dear wife." This, I think, considering he never would touch the subject or the book "Junius Identified" affords an additional strong presumption it was he.

According to Dr. Busted (*Echoes from Old Calcutta*. 4th edition 1908, p. 59) the crowing proof of the identity of Junius with Francis is supplied by his last surviving grandson, the late Mr. H. R. Francis, in his book "Junius Revealed" (1894). The author, in the course of eighty-two pages, elaborates briefly and supplements the evidence of Francis having control of the unmistakable Junius hand, in which he wrote a note to Miss Giles, a young lady at Bath, at Christmas, 1770, accompanied by some complimentary verses to "Belinda," which were copied out by his friend and companion Tilghman. The original of these verses Francis presented to his second wife at her request as a specimen of his youthful versifying. It remained only to identify the

paper. This too was done. In a letter dated November, 1897, Mr. Francis describes how at a meeting at his house, Mr. Giles Puller of the Treasury, a direct descendant of the fair "Belinda," produced Tilghman's copy of the verses with the complimentary note in the feigned hand of Junius. Mr. Francis brought out the original manuscript in his grandfather's handwriting, which was found by him in the possession of Lady Francis. It was plain to see that all the three writings were on portions of the same paper—identical in size texture and colour and bearing the same watermark. For further proof of the identity of Francis with Junius, a reference should be made to Mr. C. F. Keary's introduction to "The Francis Papers" (1901).

Reverting from this digression, we may note that on October 11, 1811, Mrs. Dixon, the wife of an Oporto wine merchant, who lived at Sevenoaks, gave a Ball, and "company began to come in towards nine o'clock." There were several Anglo-Indians among the guests who are thus enumerated by Farington :

Old Dowager Lady Monson, grand mother to the last Lord.—Miss Barwell daughter of the late Richd. Barwell of Bengall.—Mr. William Lushington, Senior, Brother of the late Sir Stephen Lushington (Chairman of the East India Direction in 1790). Mr. W. Lushington was long in the East Indies and made a fortune which he afterwards lessened by engaging in West India concerns. He seemed to be 64 or 65 years old.—Miss Lushington, His daughter.

The reference to Barwell's daughter must, it is suggested, be an error; unless he married again after his return to England (see article on the Barwell Family, post, p. 184). It is possible that one of Barwell's sisters is intended. The "last Lord Monson" was the fourth baron, who died in 1809: and the dowager was the widow of the second baron, whose brother, Colonel Monson, lies buried with his wife Lady Anne, in the South Park-street cemetery. William and Stephen Lushington were the sons of the Vicar of Eastbourne, and brothers of Henry Lushington who survived the Black Hole to perish in the Patna massacre in 1763. William married Paulina French on March 28, 1769. He was Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in 1764 and Supravisor of Hooghly in 1771. On October 31, 1773, he resigned the Company's service, and entered Parliament. "An elegant commodious house" belonging to him at Hooghly and "known as Houghly Hall" was advertised for sale on May 13, 1790. It is described as "situated on the banks of the river at Hooghly and commanding a most delightful and extensive prospect." His daughter Charlotte married on November 22, 1762, Ralph Leycester, one of the civil servants who fell under the displeasure of Clive during his second administration of Bengal.

Peter Moore.

GUARDIAN OF THACKERAY AND FRIEND OF SHERIDAN.

AMONG the few eighteenth century " nabobs " honoured with mention in the Dictionary of National Biography is Peter Moore. But it is not in that capacity that he secures admittance. The distinction falls to him because of his association with, two of the greatest master of English literature. His connexion with the Company's service made him the guardian of William Makepeace Thackeray: his passion for politics brought him the friendship of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. He was the son of a Cheshire clergyman and was born in 1753. The influence of his elder brother, Edward, a barrister, with Lord Holland and the Whig party obtained for him a writer-ship on the Bengal Establishment.

On January 10, 1774, he married at Patna, Sarah Webb, the second daughter of Col. Richmond Webb. She is said to have just turned fourteen at the time of her wedding. Her elder sister Amelia married " Sylhet " Thackeray at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on January 31, 1776: and their son, Richmond Thackeray (B.C.S. 1797-1815) was the father of the novelist, who was born in Calcutta on July 18, 1811, and sent home to England in 1817, when Moore acted as his guardian. A third sister, Augusta, married Thomas Evans of the Company's service on November 20, 1778. Lady Ritchie (Anne Thackeray) in her preface to the " Ballads and Miscellanies " in the Biographical Edition of her father's works gives many interesting details regarding the Webb girls in Bengal.

Moore seems to have been noted as a bon-vivant while in Calcutta. Hickey records (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 205) that he gave a carouse in April 1784 to celebrate the arrival of James Grant, an old shipmate of his on the *Plassey*. Among the party were " the famous Colonel John Mordaunt, eldest natural son of the old Earl of Peterborough," who figures prominently in Zoffany's " Cock Match," and " Messieurs John Haldane, Archibald Montgomerie, Peter Moore and others of equal fame in the bottle way." Being anxious to provide claret which would be worthy of " such a set," Hickey after much enquiry discovered that there was a small quantity at Baxter and Joy's, " who kept a Europe shop": and he obtained three dozen at sixty-five rupees a dozen.

There is the following further reference to Moore in Hickey's Memoirs: " While residing at Pott's Gardens (in 1783) I renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Peter Moore and his family, which gentleman is now become a prodigious politician. He still continues to represent the city of Coventry in Parliament and frequently speaks in the House, always in the opposition. His change from poverty to affluence was uncommonly rapid. At the time of my return



PETER MOORE.
(From a Portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.)

to India in 1783 I found him no better situated in point of circumstances than when I left him in 1779. He had a wife, with a host of children, was deeply involved in debt without a prospect of ever being able to extricate himself, far, having rendered himself obnoxious to Mr. Hastings, he had long been without employ, for several years receiving nothing but the three hundred and odd rupees a month allowed to senior servants who held no post or office. . . . Within three months of that gentleman's quitting the Governor-Generalship, he accepted the Residency at Rungpore, whence in somewhat less than eighteen months he returned to Calcutta with so overgrown a fortune as to be enabled to return with all his family to England, get into the House of Commons, and purchase a fine estate in Sussex. By what means such wealth was so suddenly acquired he best knows." (Vol. III, p. 264).

The following details of Moore's official career in India have been extracted from the records in the possession of the Government of India. He was appointed a writer on November 11, 1768, and was posted to the Collector General's office on August 7, 1769. He became Deputy Collector on November 2, 1771: and in 1776 was appointed by Hastings to be fifth member of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. On March 21, 1780, he went to Moorshedabad as first member of Council, and returned to the Presidency on August 3, 1782, as Collector of Calcutta. During the years 1783 and 1784, he was one of the Commissioners of Police in Calcutta: and on July 18, 1785 proceeded to Europe on three years' leave "for the recovery of his health." There is some discrepancy between these facts and the story told by Hickey. Hastings went home in the beginning of 1785, a few months before Moore: and the dates ascertainable from the records lend no colour to the assertion that he remained for several years without employment. Nor are these dates compatible with the further statement relating to his acceptance of the Residency at Rungpore.

On his return to England, Moore settled down, not in Sussex, as Hickey has it, but at Hadley in Middlesex, and became Lord of the Manor. Here too "Sylhet" Thackeray, his brother in law, and his wife made their home: and also Henrietta Thackeray, widow of James Harris, once Chief at Dacca: while Major and Mrs. Rennell (another of the Thackeray sisters) would often complete the family party by driving over from London.

Moore soon plunged into an active political career. He actively assisted Burke and Sheridan with material for their attack on Hastings, and gave evidence as a hostile witness at the trial. In 1796 he contested Tewkesbury, in company with Philip Francis, and they obtained a majority of the householders in their favour, but were unseated by the House of Commons on the ground that freemen and freeholders alone had a right to vote. Six years later he made another attempt. With Wilberforce Bird "of Wood Street, Cheapside"—one of Hickey's boon companions in London in 1780 (Memoirs, Vol. II) and father of William Wilberforce Bird who acted as Governor-General in 1844 on the recall of Lord Ellenborough—he offered himself for election at Coventry in 1802. He was again unsuccessful, but secured the

seat at a bye-election on March 30, 1803, at an expenditure of over £25,000, and continued to represent the constituency until 1824. Bird ruined himself by these repeated contests and was glad to accept an appointment at the Cape of Good Hope.

In Parliament Moore attached himself to the advanced Whig party which was led by Romilly. He played a prominent part in the Westminster Election of 1804, when he proposed Fox, and again in November, 1806, when Sheridan and Admiral Sir Samuel Hood were successful, defeating James Paull, an Anglo-Indian adventurer from Lucknow, who is supposed by some to be the original of Judas in Zoffany's "Last Supper" (1). Sheridan lost his seat in June 1807, when Paull was again a candidate, and Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane were elected. Moore continued to befriend him: as may be seen from the following entry in the Farington Diary:

March 28, 1808—Sheridan has not at present any house, as were He to take a House, His goods would be seized. He at present lives with Peter Moore, the Member for Coventry, at His House in Great George Street, Westminster, but Mrs. Sheridan is not there with Him.

When Sheridan died in 1816 his body lay in Moore's house in Great George Street until it was taken to Westminster Abbey for burial: and it was Moore who placed the memorial tablet on his grave. A Richard Brinsley Sheridan was in the Madras Civil Service from 1825 to 1832, when he went home on absentee allowance and was "out of the service" in 1837. His nomination as a writer was perhaps procured though the influence of Peter Moore.

Readers of Thackeray will remember the story of the bankruptcy of old Sedley, the father of the Collector of "Boggleywollah," and how Colonel Newcome lost the whole of his savings in the collapse of the Bundelcund Bank. These incidents may well have been inspired by recollections of the tragic end of his guardian's career. Moore was a keen company promoter, and was concerned, among other enterprises, in the rebuilding of Drury Lane Theatre, the construction of the Highgate tunnel, and the floating of the Imperial Gas Light Company. The readiness with which he lent his name as Chairman and Director eventually involved him in such financial difficulties that in 1825

(1) Extract from the Farington Diary for November 18, 1806:
The Election for Westminster terminated—the 15th Day.—

For Sir Samuel Hood	...	...	...	5478
Mr. Sheridan	...	...	...	4758
Mr. Paul	...	...	...	4481

Majority for Mr. Sheridan ... 277

Sir Thomas Lawrence took a great interest in this election. On November 11, 1806, he told Farington that he had "a great desire for Sheridan to be returned for Westminster, and said He had been much neglected by the Fox party, who had never forgiven him for not seceding from the House of Commons when they did," and also for his support of the Government at the time of the Mutiny at the Nore. "Every Election," Lawrence added on the authority of Kemble, "drained Sheridan's Purse. Each time not less than £8,000."

—when the novelist was fourteen years old and still a boy at “ Greyfriars ”— he was obliged to fly to Dieppe to escape arrest and surrendered all his property, except a small maintenance, for the relief of those who had been ruined by his undertakings. He remained abroad and died at Abbeville on May 5, 1828.

Five of Moore's children were baptised in Calcutta : Richmond (February 15, 1776), Edward (January 12, 1777), George Peter (May 25, 1777), Maria Sarah (October 18, 1779), and Louisa Dacres (February 7, 1783). There were in addition two other sons, St. John, who was born in 1786, (writer 1802, died in Calcutta, September 2, 1805), and Macartney (evidently a godson of Lord Macartney, who was Governor of Fort St. George from 1781 to 1785 and paid a visit to Calcutta on his way home) : writer 1804, arrived in Bengal, May 16, 1806, Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in the Agra, Allyghur, and Sydad divisions, March 1, 1829 : proceeded on furlough on March 1, 1830, and died in London on June 15, 1831. Macartney Moore was the only son who survived his father.

The portrait of Moore, which faces page 180, is taken from a photograph of a picture by Gainsborough, supplied by Colonel John Shakespear, C.M.G., C. I.E., D.S.O., formerly Resident at Manipur. Col. Shakespear is the younger son of Sir Richmond Shakespear and Marian Sophia Thompson (daughter of George Nesbitt Thompson, Hasting's private Secretary) and grandson of John Talbot Shakespear (B.C.S. 1800-1825) and Emily Thackeray, daughter of “ Sylhet ” Thackeray and niece of Moore.

The Barwell Family.

WILLIAM BARWELL, the father of Richard Barwell, came out as a factor in 1772 and after acting as Chief at Patna was President and Governor at Fort William from April 1748 to July 17, 1749. His dismissal from the service was ordered by the Directors in a letter dated January 18, 1749: and the reason, as stated in a later letter of January 27, 1749, was "his violent behaviour at Patna to Mr. Jackson, his not setting seal to a paper which the Council thought was necessary for carrying into execution their contract with Omichund Deepchand, and his return from thence without leave from his superiors at Calcutta." He returned to England and was a Director of the Company from 1753 to 1757, again from 1758 to 1765, and a third time from 1766 to 1767. He was three times married and on each occasion in Calcutta. His first wife was a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Eyre, whom he married on February 15, 1730. She died on September 25, 1731, at the age of twenty-two and was buried in St. John's Churchyard, where her tombstone with an elaborate Latin inscription may still be seen. He then married Mrs. Ann Atkinson, on November 21, 1731-32, and, finally, Elizabeth Peirce on February 27, 1739. The following children were born to him in Bengal:--

1. Mary, baptized November 10, 1733.
2. Amy, baptized September 8, 1736.
3. William, baptized October 13, 1740.
4. Richard, born October 8, and baptized October 31, 1741.
5. John, baptized July 20, 1743.
6. Roger, baptized December 22, 1747.

(These dates are given in the "old style.")

Four other children were born after his return to England: Frances, James, Daniel Octavus, and Edward.

Richard Barwell, the second son, arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1758. In 1759, he was assistant in the Secretary's office: 1761, assistant in the Accountant's office: 1762, sub-military store-keeper, in addition: 1764, Factor, sub-accountant, and keeper of the accounts deposits: 1765, Resident at Maldah: 1767, Junior Merchant without employ: 1768, Second in Council at Cossimbazar: 1770, Twelfth of Council at the Presidency, military paymaster, and mintmaster: 1771, Ninth of Council and Chief at Patna: 1773, Chief at Dacca, and also Collector of Luckypore and Silhet: 1774, Member of the Supreme Council of the Governor-General at Fort William in Bengal. He steadily supported Hastings and fought a duel with General Clavering in April, 1775. In 1780, he resigned the Service and returned to Europe.

Extensive property was owned by him in Calcutta, including the land upon which nineteen houses, which are now enclosed in Writers' Buildings,

were erected by Thomas Lyon in 1776. These he rented to the Company through Lyon a few days before his departure. "Mr. Barwell's house taken for five years by his own vote at 31, 720 current rupees per annum to be paid half-yearly in advance," writes Francis in his diary on February 29, 1780, "Mr. Wheler and I declare we shall not sign the lease." The buildings had "a range of Boutiques at the back." His house at Kidderpore was subsequently utilized for the accommodation of the Military Orphan Asylum. It was purchased by him from the famous Munny Begum, the widow of Meer Jaffar. He had also a house "fronting the Esplanade," in which George Francis Grand and his bride lived for ten months after their marriage, a "small house on the western side of the road leading from Surman's Bridge" (which is supposed to be the modern Kidderpore Vicarage) and a gardenhouse at Baraset. Lastly, he was the owner of a fine villa at Garden Reach, "the first to be built in that situation" (S. C. Grier, *The Great Proconsul*, p. 16).

On his return to England, Barwell became M.P. for St. Ives and Winchester and died on September 2, 1804. He married on September 13, 1770, Elizabeth Jane Sanderson, daughter of Robert Sanderson, a Company's servant, who gave evidence in the Grand-Francis case. She was a celebrated Calcutta beauty and died on November 9, 1778, aged about 25 years. Two sons of Richard Barwell were baptized in Calcutta at St. John's Church: Richard, on January 13, 1778, and Edward James, after his mother's death, on February 8, 1779.

There is much about Barwell's experiences in England in the second volume of "The Memoirs of William Hickey," (pp. 297—303, 306—309). Hickey says that he came home, according to common report, with a fortune of upwards of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. "His first habitation in London was in a house belonging to an old maiden sister, Miss Mary Barwell, in Great Ormond Street, Bloomsbury," but he had already in 1781 purchased Stanstead Park, near Chichester, which had been the seat of Lord (Hickey tells us) was a Parliamentary borough returning two members. It was at Standstead that Barwell said "Bring more curricles."

Of the third son John, we read in a letter written by Richard Barwell to his father on November 26, 1765, that "his refusing to go to India in the station you had been so kind to procure him, is to me no matter of wonder," as he would have had to serve under his younger brother if he had accepted the appointment.

Roger, the younger brother in question, had arrived in Bengal as a writer on August 26, 1764. In 1765, he became assistant to the Assay Master at Calcutta and in 1766 was appointed assistant at Cossimbazar. There is no trace of him in the lists after 1767: and Richard Barwell, in a letter of May 15, 1776, to his sister Mary alludes to him as "our late brother Roger." In an earlier letter to his father, on October 4, 1769, he mentions that Roger "had been induced to take a trip to Europe by ill-health and disappointments."

The sixth son, Daniel, who was also in the Company's service in Bengal, figures almost as prominently as Richard in the second volume of the "Memoirs of William Hickey." He left Calcutta for Europe in 1778, in the *Osterley* (758 tons, Captain Samuel Rogers) and when off the Mauritius on February 22, 1779, had the misfortune to encounter a large French privateer, in which, according to Hickey, "Mr. Whittall, then high in the Company's civil service at Madras, but much engaged in commercial concerns with the French, was said to be a part owner" (1). The *Osterley* was compelled to strike her colours and was carried a prize to the Isle of France. Barwell obtained permission some weeks later to leave the island in an American vessel, in which he proceeded to the Cape and there embarked in a Dutch East Indiaman. When off the port of Middelburg in Holland, the vessel ran on a sandbank and was totally lost. Barwell attempted to swim ashore, a distance of three miles, with a companion who had been a midshipman on the *Osterley*: and both were drowned. The remainder of those on board, with the exception of six, were ultimately rescued. Mary Barwell, "an eccentric odd woman," persisted in believing that her brother had been murdered, on account of a large sum of money and jewels which he had with him and for months bombarded the Court of Directors and the Cabinet with letters. An enquiry was held, and death was definitely established to be due to drowning: but the letters continued. In a letter of August 2, 1779, to James Barwell, Ralph Leycester and William Bensley (Director from 1786 to 1810) in London, Richard Barwell mentions that he has "shift on board" the *Royal Henry* East Indiaman, Capt. Ralph Dundas, "sundry Rupees which with freight amount to current Rupees 1,60,603-5-10 on account and risk of my brother Daniel Barwell."

James Barwell, the fifth son, was the seagoing member of the family. On December 4, 1765, Richard Barwell writes from Calcutta to James, and congratulates him upon "having quitted the ship at Bombay, as you have, by what I then thought an imprudent step, escaped the wreck in which every one of your shipmates (the second officer excepted) have been fatally involved." He is glad to find that your treatment from Richardson has been unexceptionable, and that your passage, none of the shortest, proved more agreeable than you expected it." James was evidently anticipating an appointment as supercargo at Canton, but his brother "imagines him perfectly easy under the disappointment" and hope that his stay in England "will not produce further discontent." We find from Hardy's Register that James Barwell shipped as fourth officer in the *Anson* (499 tons, Capt. Edward Lord Chick) which sailed from the Downs on April 2, 1764 on her first voyage to Bombay, and arrived back in the Downs on May 25, 1765. The accident that occurred was not to her, for she sailed again for Madras and Bombay

(1) Hickey must be referring to Thomas Whitehill, who arrived on the Coromandel coast as a writer in 1752, and was in 1768 appointed a Senior Merchant and Member of the Governor's Council. In 1780 he was deprived of his seat in Council and dismissed the Company's service.

on April 6, 1766, with Captain John Lennox in command, and an entirely new set of officers except the surgeon and the purser, and returned safely to the Downs on October 18, 1767. James Barwell's second ship was the *Earl of Elgin* (499 tons, Capt. Thomas Cooke) in which he sailed as third officer for the Coast and Bay on March 8, 1767, returning to the Downs on August 23, 1768. He must have left the *Anson* at Bombay, as his brother says, and have joined, and suddenly left, a country ship which was wrecked immediately afterwards. The letter to which Richard Barwell replied was written on February 8, 1765 in London: so that clearly he did not return in the *Anson*.

On September 21, 1767, Richard Barwell informs his mother regarding James that "his ship being ordered to Vizagapatam with troops, he is now absent" from Calcutta.

On January 6, 1768, he tells his father of the success of his applications to various persons to take shares "as part-owners in a ship which he is building" for his brother James. James is duly sworn in as a commander in the marine service of the Company on February 1, 1771 and takes not a new ship, but the *Ankerwyke* (499 tons, owner Barrington Buggin) to "the Coast" and China for her third voyage, returning on October 2, 1772. He makes another voyage in her on January 16, 1775 to "the Coast and Bay" returning on August 26, 1776 and his name then disappears from Hardy's Register.

The following Barwells are buried in Calcutta: Charles Richard (writer, 1804, died 1836), Frederick Page (1834-1836), Augusta Charlotte (1817-1836), Edward D'Oyly (1810-1840), James Richard (born 1784, writer 1799, died 1833) Anna Maria (died 1882) and E. Barwell (1789-1826).

The names of four Barwells—James Richard (1799-1828), Edward Richard (1804-1839), Charles Richard (1804-1835) and Arthur Champion (1805-1841)—are given in Prinsep's "List of Company's Servants on the Bengal establishment from 1790 to 1842."

James Richard Barwell—(writer 1799): Died at Chowringhee, April 16, 1833; Sub-treasurer at the Presidency, Sept. 30, 1817, and Director Bank of Bengal: Comptroller of the Treasury, May 22, 1828.

Edward Richard Barwell—(writer 1804) became third member of the Board of Revenue on January 10, 1828; Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs in 1835 and of Jessore in 1838: retired on annuity February 6, 1839.

Charles Richard Barwell: (writer 1804) died December 12, 1836 at Calcutta. He was Asst. to the Registrar of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, Sept. 29, 1810, Judge and Magte. of 24 Pergunnahs, July 4, 1817 and held Calcutta appointments until Sept. 15, 1829. In May, 1834 he officiated as Special Commissioner for Calcutta, and was appointed a Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, on November 26, 1835.

Arthur Champion Barwell: (writer 1805) was Salt Agent at Jessore, 1821, Cuttack 1828, and Hidgellee, 1841.

The total Indian Service of the Barwell family therefore extended from 1722 to 1841.

A Letter of Thomas Daniell.

WE reproduce in facsimile on the opposite page an interesting holograph letter addressed by Thomas Daniell on January 25, 1793, to "The Hon'ble Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart, President and Governor, etc., in Council, Fort St. George." The letter is preserved in the Public Consultations of Fort Saint George (Vol. CLXXXI): and our warmest thanks are due to His Excellency Lord Willingdon, Governor of Madras, for the photograph, which was specially taken under his orders.

Sir Charles Oakeley was a Company's servant, who came out as a writer on the Madras Establishment in 1767, at the age of sixteen. He was appointed Factor in 1774, Junior Merchant in 1776, and Senior Merchant in 1778. After serving as Judge-Advocate-General, and President of the Board of Revenue (1786-1788) he became a Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George in 1790, and was created a baronet on June 5 of the same year. He was named Governor in succession to Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, who made over charge on February 7, 1789, but had to remain as Second in Council until August 1, 1792, when Major-General William Medows, the Commander-in-chief, embarked for England. He held office until September 7, 1794, when he was succeeded by Lord Hobart. Like Lord Macartney, he declined the post of Governor-General of India, and died on September 7, 1826.

Robert Clerk, who examined Daniell's box, and "affixed the Hon'ble Company's seal thereto," was a writer of 1781, and held from 1786 to 1793 the office of "Deputy Sea Customer, and Deputy Secretary, Commercial and Revenue Department, Sea Gate Register, and Clerk of the Peace." He was second member of the Board of Trade in 1800, and "out of the service" in 1805. From 1812 to 1815 he was a Director of the Company, and died in the year last named.

The *Ponsborne*, which carried home the "Drawings and Scetches" was an Indiaman of 804 tons, under the command of Captain James Thomas. She had left the Downs for "the Coast and Bay" on April 6, 1792, and reached Madras on July 31, and Diamond Harbour on August 17. The date of her return to her home moorings is July 5, 1793. On her outward voyage she brought to Bengal Thomas Twining, a young writer, known to later generations as the author of "Travels in India a Hundred Years ago" (published by his sons in 1893).

The fruits of the expedition to Cape Comorin may be seen in "Oriental Scenery." The second series which was published in London in August 1797, contains the following views of Madura, "taken in July, 1792," Trichinopoly, "taken in June, 1792," and Tanjore, "taken in September, 1792":

To The Hon.^{ble} Sir Charles Cakely, Bart.
President & Governor in Council

Hon.^{ble} Sir, Fort St. George

Having a small Box (mark'd $\frac{TD}{B}$) containing Drawings & sketches made by myself & my nephew W^m Tomlinson on a Tour from this place to Cape Comorin, which from their judicious nature I am very desirous may be delivered as early as possible to Mess^{rs} Edm^{und} Beckm^{er} & Co. London, unopened (being previously examined here by Rob^t Clerk Esq; closed by him, & the Hon^{ble} Company's seal affixed thereto) solicit the indulgence of Government, to that effect, of mention being made of them in the general Letter, & for permission to send them to England on the Hon^{ble} Company's Ship Porpoison.

Fort St. George
Jan^y. 25. 1793

I am with due respect
Hon.^{ble} Sir,
your very obedient serv^t
Tho^s. Daniel

A LETTER FROM THOMAS DANIEL.—1793.

[Public Consultations: Fort Saint George. Vol. CLXXXI.]

(From a photograph presented by His Excellency
Lord Willingdon, Governor of Madras.)

- No. 13. Part of the Palace, Madura.
- No. 14. View in the Fort of Madura.
- No. 15. Interior view of the Palace at Madura.
- No. 16. An Hindoo Temple at Madura.
- No. 17. Ruins of the Palace, Madura.
- No. 18. Tremal Naig's choultry, Madura.
- No. 19. The Rock of Tritchinopoly, taken on the River Cauvery.
- No. 20. The Great Pagoda, Tritchinopoly.
- No. 21. View in the Fort of Tritchinopoly.
- No. 22. The Great Bull, an Hindoo Idol, Tanjore.
- No. 23. South East view of Tritchinopoly.
- No. 24. The Great Pagoda, Tanjore.

The first twelve sketches in the series are distributed equally between Fort Saint George and Calcutta. The six Calcutta views are stated to have been "taken in 1792," and the Madras views "in 1793." The whole twenty-four are "drawn by Thomas Daniell and engraved by himself and William Daniell."

In the third series, published in London in June, 1801, and "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell," there are four views of Southern India:

- No. 11. Jag Deo and Warrangur, two of the twelve Hill Forts in the Barramahl, which were in the possession of the late Sultau Tippoo: given up without resistance to the English in 1792. Distant from Kistnagherry, eastward, about 7 miles.
- No. 12. Ryacotta, in the Barramahl, one of the highest and strongest hill forts; taken by Major Gowdie in July 1792.
- No. 13. Verapadroog, one of the most romantic forts in the Barramahl: 11 miles distant from Ryacotta.
- No. 14. Ousoor, in the Mysore: taken without much resistance by Major Gowdie in July, 1792: about 20 miles distant from Bangalore.

In the fourth series, published in London in May, 1807, and "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell," the seven views of scenes in the Madras Presidency, which are said to have been taken in July and August, 1792, "commence with Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of Hindoostan":

- No. 1. Cape Comorin, near Calcad.
- No. 2. Waterfall of Puppanassum, in the Tinnyvelly district: on the river Tumrabunni; a few miles below the fall, that river passes the fort of Palamcottah.
- No. 3. Waterfall at Courtallum, in the Tinnevelly district: about 20 miles northward from Puppanassum: called Tancanche (Tenkási): the height of the cataract is 220 feet.
- No. 4. Shevagurry: 100 miles from Cape Comorin, at the foot of a range of hills: a small village, the residence of a Poligar Rajah.

- No. 5. Cheval-pettore : in the district of Tinnyvelly. The town of that name, which is not introduced, lies about one mile distant on the left of the Fort, which is shown in the sketch. The Hills contiguous to the Fort are well wooded and rise abruptly out of the plain. These Carnatic mountains are of all dimensions from the Sugar Loaf of Trichinopoly to Severn Droog.
- No. 6. Near Attoor, in the Dindigul district, south of the Kingdom of Mysore, inhabited by a class of human creatures whose shaggy forms and ferocious aspect appear sufficient to strike terror into the hearts even of lions and tigers.
- No. 7. Sankry Droog taken from the north-west side. One of the largest of those fortified hills that occur so frequently in the Carnatic : and situated near the eastern limits of the Coimbatore district. Formerly in the possession of Tippoo Sulthan, but taken by the English under Lord Cornwallis. In the distance may be seen the river Cauvery where, quitting the hilly country, it first make its appearance in the plains of the Carnatic.

In the sixth series, which is entitled "Antiquities of India" and was published in London on October 15, 1799, the South Indian views are stated to have taken in the year 1793 and to be "from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A., engraved by Himself and William Daniell."

These are :

- No. 1. Sculptured rocks at Mauveleporam, on the coast of Coromandel.
- No. 2. The entrance to an excavated Hindoo Temple at Mauveleporam.
- No. 14. An Antique Reservoir near Colar in the Mysore : about 30 miles in an E. direction from Bangalore.
- No. 17. View near Bangalore : showing Temple. On the left is the Chackra or discuss of Vishnoo placed horizontally and supported by a pillar : on the right a pavilion, and further on a stone pillar on the top of which on particular occasions is placed the sacred fire.
- No. 18. Entrance to a Hindoo Temple near Bangalore.
- No. 21. A pavilion belonging to a Hindoo Temple : near Mauveleporam.

We have in addition the record of a number of pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy, both by Thomas and by William Daniell. The titles of many of these will be found in the footnotes to the article on "The Daniells in India" which was published in Vol. XXV of *Bengal Past and Present*: (see in particular pp. 7, 12, 20). Judging from the preponderance of views of Madras scenery, it must regretfully be acknowledged that the Daniells found more to attract them in Southern India than in the North.

Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt and His Anglo-Indian Wives.

IT is not an easy task to unravel, at this distance of time, the details concerning the two marriages contracted with Anglo-Indian ladies by Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt, the great Bengali epic poet and author of the famous "Meghnadabada" (1). The first of these wives, Rebecca Mactavish, was the daughter of an indigo planter in the Madras Presidency. She was of Scottish parentage, but resident in India. Her grandfather was Dugald Mactavish, an agent of the firm of Arbuthnot and Company, the once famous South Indian mercantile house, which owned indigo concerns at Cuddapah. The poet married this lady against the wishes of her parents, most probably in the year 1848, when he was usher in the Madras Male Asylum for the children of Europeans and their descendants.

In a letter to one of his friends, written from Madras, dated March 19, 1849, Dutt writes in affectionate terms of the partner he had chosen: "Talking of my good lady puts me in mind of the introduction of the 'Captive'." This was one of the English poems which he addressed to her. He gives a specimen:—

Oh! beautiful as Inspiration, when
She fills the poet's breast, her faery shrine,
Waved by melodious worship! Welcome then
Though ours the home of want—! ne'er repine—
Art thou not there—e'en thou—a precious gem and mine?
Life hath its dreams to beautify its scene;
And sunlight for its desert: but there be
None softer in its store—of brighter sheen—
Than love—than gentle love—and thou to me
Art that sweet dream, mine own in glad reality!

(1) The following account of the life of Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt (1824-1873) is adapted from Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography: "Son of Raj Narayan Dutt, a pleader in the Sudder Court: born January 25, 1824. Educated in the Hindu College under Derozi. When his father wished him to marry, he ran away to the missionaries and on February 9, 1843, was baptized as a Christian: remained at Bishop's College, Calcutta, from 1843 to 1847, and then went to Madras, where he lived in great poverty: returning to Calcutta in 1850 he became interpreter in the Police Court. In 1862 he went to England and was called to the Bar: practised at the Calcutta Bar from 1867, but without any marked success. His improvidence and failings ruined a promising career, and he died in a charitable hospital in Calcutta on June 29, 1873. In literary circles his memory is treasured: he helped to promote a national drama and theatre: produced some meritorious dramas, farces, and poems: and was well acquainted with several European and Oriental languages, besides Greek and Latin. Enjoyed a considerable reputation as a writer of Bengali blank verse which he created and introduced into the language."

Rebecca had two sons and two daughters, of whom one son and one daughter survived her. Little is known of the daughter. The son, Mactavish Dutt, practised for some time as a pleader in the Court of Small Causes at Madras. For seven years the poet lived with his wife, but prior to the year 1855 differences arose; a separation followed and divorce proceedings were taken against her in 1855. Rebecca died in Madras in July 1892.

Mr. G. Parameswaram Pillai, writing on the marriage connections of the poet, states: "While in Madras he married the daughter of a European Indigo Planter, but the marriage was by no means happy: within a few years he obtained a divorce from his wife and married another European lady. She was not only faithful to him, but was a partner in his joys and sorrows to the last."

Supremely interesting is the life of the poet's second Anglo-Indian wife, Emilia Henrietta Sophia (2), whom he married in Madras shortly after securing his divorce. This lady was of French extraction: and her father, at the time of her marriage, was a professor at the Madras Presidency College. The domestic life of the poet was made happy by the solace and comfort she brought him. She shared willingly her husband's sorrows and was a staunch associate of all his penury and distress. Gour Das Bysack writing of her says: "He (the poet) was as happy in her company as possible in this world and she was as faithful as Savitri herself." She was a gifted woman, could read the "Meghnadabada" in Bengali and was an adept at the piano.

The poet left for Europe on June 9, 1862, his wife following him and reaching England on May 2, 1863. Shortly after her arrival the poet with his family went to Paris where they underwent great privations and would have starved if it had not been for the generous assistance given by Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. In 1865 Dutt returned to England in 1865 to study for the Bar, and met the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who was himself eating his dinners at the time. Dutt was duly called and arrived in Calcutta in February 1867, but he had suffered great distress while in England. Writing from 14, Wood Lane, Shepherd's Bush, London W. on June 18, 1866 to his friend Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar he pours out the story of his troubles in these pathetic paragraphs:—

You cannot imagine what sleepless nights my poor wife and myself have passed, talking over our affairs and prospects, and we have come to the conclusion that it would be better that I should go out alone and that she should follow me some months after, when I have acquired a sort of professional footing.

(2) The maiden name of the lady is not stated in any of the biographies of Michael Dutt. But Mr. S. Kumar, of the Imperial Library, who has been good enough to make enquiries, informs us that in the year 1856 (which was about the time of the marriage) there were two tutors on the staff of the Madras Presidency College, L. Dique, fifth tutor, and A. Dique, sixth tutor, whose name appears to indicate a French origin. It is possible that they may have been related to the second Mrs. Dutt.—EDITOR, *Bengal Past and Present*.

I do not know if you have already forwarded (as I hope you have) the £200. If you have then you must induce our kind friend (?) to give you £300 more and that money you must send me so that it might reach me by the first or at the latest by the second incoming mail of September, for then I shall be in a position to give up this house and seek obscurer and cheaper lodgings somewhere else. The £300 will pay my call expenses and keep us here till I leave so that we shan't trouble you for more money for our living. Then, it will cost me £200 to go out, and I must leave for my wife at least £200 in the Bank—alas! who will give me this money? If you were rich I should not be so miserable, for I know the nobility of your heart. Do you think a letter from me to Jotindra Tagore will have any favourable effect? And then, when I get back to Calcutta, I must look to my own exertions. Why should I fear to fail?

I hope you will send me £200 in September, for I must get out of this house and the last quarter of the year ends with that month. The proprietors are hard-hearted people and if I am unable to pay and move out, they no doubt, will apply the hard enactments of the English law of Landlord and Tenant to my case, for I am a yearly tenant, and if I remain one day after the expiration of the term, they might compel me to keep the house and the house another year, at a higher rate of rent!

The £200 which I expend now every day will pay off last quarter's debts and leave something over to carry us on to next September, and then immediately after the receipt of your letter and the money, I shall apply to the Benchers of Gray's Inn for my Call.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee remained a close and intimate friend of the poet and his family while in England and it is recorded that almost every Sunday he dined with them in their house in London. As already mentioned the poet returned to India in 1867, and in May 1869 his wife with her children followed, having for a time, stayed in Paris before proceeding to India.

When Mr. Bonnerjee was on his way out to Calcutta *via* Marseilles in July or August 1868, he called on Mrs. Dutt in her Paris home. He found her in a state of acute penury as her husband had not been able to send her remittances regularly. Sympathising with her he offered her his whole purse, containing the modest sum of £10, to take out of it whatever she thought fit. She took £8 leaving only £2 for the owner of the purse to meet his expenses from Paris to Marseilles and for the voyage from Marseilles to Calcutta.

Of the children of the poet by his second marriage, the eldest was a daughter, Henrietta Elizabeth Sharmista. The name "Sharmista" was taken from the well-known drama of the poet called by that name. She was born in the year 1859; and was twice married, firstly, to W. W. Floyd, and on his death to W. B. Nyss. By the latter she had one son, William Brightman Samuel Nyss, who for a time was Superintendent of Excise and Salt in Darjeeling. She died at the age of twenty on February 15, 1879. It is recorded

that when the poet died in great want in a hospital in Calcutta, (for he was improvident and failed to succeed at the Bar) Sharmista went to Mr. Bonnerjee to beg of him to pay for the funeral expenses. So anxious was she to get the money that it is said she approached the eminent barrister while he was in the midst of a case and actually addressing the Court.

The next child was a son, Frederick Michael Dutt, who was born on July 23, 1861. He showed great promise as an artist but died at the early age of 13 years and 10 months on June 11, 1875.

The youngest son, Albert Napoleon Dutt, was educated at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, as a boarder. The writer well remembers his slim erect figure and his gentle manly manner while continuing his studies in the College. He rose to be Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Lucknow, but died at the age of forty on August 22, 1909. A few of his children survive.

Emilia Henrietta was very devoted to her husband but "she was quite powerless to restrain him from extravagance or check him in his imprudence." "Poor lady, what could she do? She forget everything as he stood by her side, as she looked up to his face, the face of the idol of her heart, the idol she adored and worshipped with all the fondness of womanhood." Silently undergoing all suffering with her husband she passed away on June 26, 1873, just seventy hours before the death of the poet himself.

The Burial Register of the Lower Circular Road cemetery at Calcutta contains the following entry:—

"26th June 1873. Emelia Henrietta Sophia Dutt, aged 27 years, wife of Michael: buried by J. Lewis and Co., in a *kutchra* grave 23 feet south of Mrs. L. J. MacCarthy's headstone, 5th range of graves, 6th walk south from the 1st gate, south-east quarter. C.R.B.G."

According to the Burial Register she must have been born in the year 1846. If this be correct she must have been married at the age of nine when the poet himself was thirty-one years of age, and her eldest child must have been born when she was thirteen. The age mentioned in the Register must therefore be an error, for it would be absurd to imagine a lady of French extraction marrying at so tender an age. In all probability she was born in the year 1836 and was married to the poet at the age of nineteen dying at the age of thirty-seven. Her grave lies close to the grave of the husband to whom she clung so closely in life.

Strangely enough, beyond a cement plastering over the grave no suitable monument stands to the memory of this devoted Anglo-Indian lady, the loving and faithful wife of the greatest epic poet of Bengal. A great deal has been said about the practice of European or Anglo-Indian ladies marrying Indians, chiefly Bengali gentlemen. Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt was the first to introduce the custom.

H. W. B. MORENO.

The Buddhist Monastery at Ghoosery.

HOW many of the English residents of Calcutta are aware that there is a Buddhist monastery and temple at Ghoosery on the river bank above Howrah? The temple goes by the name of Bhot Mandir, which is merely a corruption of Bhutia Mandir, and the locality is similarly known as Bhot Bagan.

Warren Hastings, as is well known, despatched several missions to Bhutan and Tibet. The first was entrusted to George Bogle who left Calcutta in May 1774, for the purpose of establishing commercial relations with the Deo Rajah of Bhutan and the Teshu Lama. He proceeded by way of Tassisudon in Bhutan and Phari Jong to Desherigpay, north of the Tsan-po river, where he met the Teshu Lama, and accompanied him to Tashilumpo, returning to India in June 1775. A second mission under Bogle was proposed, but it never took place, on account of the departure of the Teshu Lama for Peking, where he died on November 12, 1780. Bogle died in Calcutta on April 3, 1781, and his tomb may be seen in the South Park-street cemetery. Meanwhile two missions were sent to Bhutan under Dr. Hamilton, who had accompanied Bogle. The first of these were despatched in November 1775 and reached Punakha on April 6, and Tassisudon in May 1776. In July 1776 the second mission started to congratulate a new Deo Rajah on his accession and returned in September; Hamilton dying in the year following (1780). On February 12, 1782, the news reached Calcutta that the Teshu Lama had been re-incarnated in the person of an infant, and Hastings resolved to send a fourth mission to Bhutan which was intended to proceed to Tibet. The officer selected was Captain Samuel Turner, a young kinsman of Hastings who was accompanied by Samuel Davis, then a lieutenant of engineers in the Company's service, and Dr. Robert Saunders. The mission started in January 1783 and returned in March 1784. Davis, whom we have already encountered in the pages of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV. pp. 9—12) as the friend and patron of Thomas and William Daniell, was an excellent artist, and the illustrations in Turner's account of his mission are drawn by him. The sketches are however confined to Bhutan, for the Tibetan Government would not permit Davis to cross the frontier.

The outcome of Bogle's visit was that a friendly mission was sent to Calcutta by the Teshu Lama; and the sequel will appear from the following extracts from the Revenue Board's Proceedings of December 4, 1775 (G. G. P. of same date, pp. 5873—78) which Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E. has been good enough to transcribe :

• • • • •

"The Governor-General lays before the Board the following translation of a pottah which he has obtained with the consent of the Proprietors for some

ground lying on the other side of the river, in consequence of a request made to him by the Lama in a letter brought from him by Mr. Bøgle, in which the Lama requests permission to build a house for a Temple on the Banks of the Ganges.

TRANSLATION.

A pottah from Raj Chand Roy and Kaliprasad Roy and Raghonath Deo the farmer to Puran Gir, agent of Maharajah Tashi Lama for a house and gardens in their taluks, that is the ground etc., called Durree Barbuckpoor in the ten-anna Taraf of Pargana Buchoo, and that called Kismet Susadia in the six-anna Taraf of Pargana Paikan, the same being two mouzahs containing one hundred Beghas and eight cottahs of ground, and the revenue thereof according to the rates of the said ground, inclusive of taxes, amounting as follows to two hundred and ninety-one rupees fifteen annas two gandas and two cowries.

DURREE BARBUCKPOOR

	Bighas.	Rs. As. P.
Ryotee ...	58.5.	13 9 5
Mohteran (1) ...	1.7.	4 1 0
Brick kilns ...	6.8.	23 9 12
Goodie Mangun (2) on account of earth dug up by potters.		25 0 0
	66.	198 9 17

KISMET SUSADIA

	Bighas.	Rs. As. P.
Ryotee ...	31.8	60 5 5 2
Brick kilns ...	3.	12
Goodie Mangun		21
	34.8	93 15 2 2
TOTAL ...	100.8	291 15 2 2

(1) A corruption of Mahatran, (মহাত্রাণ) a Bengali revenue term for land assigned by zemindars to fakirs, sanniyasis and other religious persons.—R. B. R.

(2) Goodie Mangun may be translated as contributions in wheat taken by the zemindar. Mangun is the eighteenth century corruption (according to H. H. Wilson) of Mangna, to want, and denotes a demand made on the ryot. Goodie is probably godi, the word used in the Carnatic for wheat. The use of South Indian words as Bengali revenue terms is not uncommon. Examples may be found in the report of the Commission of 1776.—R. B. R.

A pottah is given you for the above ground which you will accordingly make a house and garden upon, and, paying your revenue year by year, enjoy in security. You will not be subject to any other tax. Upon these conditions

SD/- RAJ CHAND ROY,
KALI PRASAD ROY,
RAGHONATH DEB,
(farmer),

SD/- WILLIAM CHALMER,
Persian Translator to the Khalsa.

Governor-General Grants have been obtained for the lands from the several original proprietors, but as these are subject to an annual rent amounting to Rs. 291-13-2, He recommends it to the consideration of the Board whether the sum may not with propriety be granted as a perpetual free hold to the Lama, as it may serve as an encouragement to the people of that country to resort to Bengal and greatly facilitate the intercourse of trade between the two countries."

It was eventually resolved to refer the matter to the Directors, the Governor-General observing—"I am content to leave it to their determination. In the meantime I shall endeavour to make the grant in its present form as acceptable to the Lama as I can"

The Governor-General had pressed for an immediate decision but the majority were in favour of obtaining the Directors' sanction.

* * * * *

The temple and monastery were built, and the first Mahant was Puran Gir Gossain, a Bengalee who had been sent by the Teshu Lama as head of the mission. He was killed by dacoits during an attack on the monastery, which was reputed to be very rich; and was buried near the great temple. A guest house was erected in the compound for the Bhutanese traders who came down to Calcutta in large numbers. The sacred books and images in the temple were sent by the Teshu Lama.



Our Library Table.

*Heber's Indian Journal: a Selection, with an introduction by
P. R. Krishnaswami. (Oxford University Press. Rupees Two.)*

Bishop Heber's "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India" is rightly described by the editor of these selections as one of the source-books of Indian history, and yet the author's experience of India was limited to a period of less than three years. He landed in Calcutta on October 3, 1823, and met his death by accident at Trichinopoly on April 3, 1826. During that brief space of time, however, there was hardly a corner of his vast diocese which went unvisited. He travelled as far north as Delhi, traversed the continent to the western seaboard, did not forget Ceylon, and was touring in Southern India at the time of his death. As we examine Mr. Krishnaswami's table of contents, we shall see at once that there was hardly a subject which did not attract him or upon which he did not find occasion to make an illuminating comment. He was in particular a careful student of architecture and his love of the beauties of nature was equally strong. As an ecclesiastic, it was not to be expected that he would be free from the *odium theologicum*: and he never lost sight of the fact that he had accepted the bishopric of Calcutta in order, as he imagined, to convert the people of India to Christianity. All references to his priestly duties have however been left out by Mr. Krishnaswami who has performed his task with skill and judgment: although there is a curious foot note on page 180 which can easily be construed into a defence of Suttee. In addition to the Journal, certain letters of Heber have been laid under contribution and extracts are also given from Mrs. Heber's Diary. Here and there, of course, Heber went astray. His sympathy for that picturesque freebooter, Trimbakjee Danglia, with whom he conversed in his prison at Chunar, is comprehensible, for he was full of sentimentalism, but it was misplaced. Mountstuart Elphinstone who looked after Trimbakjee's family like a father but refused all applications for release from the man himself, took a far sounder view of the position. The account of Heber's interview with "Swaamee Narain, a Hindu Gooroo," of whom he came to hear at Baroda, affords another glimpse into his character. His interest in this holy person, who is now worshipped as an incarnation of Krishna, cooled down when he discovered "the smallness of his advances beyond the usual limits of Hindooism." Heber's stay in Calcutta was relatively so short that there is not much about the "City of Palaces" in these selections. But it may be observed that Chowringhee in those days had just ceased to be "a mere scattered suburb": and that it was still considered to be outside the city, for mention is made of "an

extensive but ruinous bazar which occupies the angle where Calcutta and Chowringhee join." The Esplanade with its many handsome private dwellings and Government House and Town Hall (this last possessing "no other merit than size") reminded the Bishop so forcibly of Petersburg, which he had visited as a young man, that "it was hardly possible for me to imagine myself anywhere else": but behind the Esplanade was "only Tank Square and some other streets occupied by Europeans." Cracks were conspicuous in the best houses, and the equipages on "the course" were disappointing, the horses being small and poor, and the attendants "bespeaking anything but wealth and luxury with their dirty white dresses and bare limbs." Of Dacca, he writes that it possesses many fine ruins which impressed him at first with a great idea of their age. Among Calcutta notabilities he gives a sketch of Hurree Mohan Thakoor and "Rhadacont Deb, a Hindoo gentleman." The latter we may identify more closely as Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I., grandson by adoption of Nubkissen, whose bust may be seen in the Town Hall. The former, who was the fourth son of Durpo Narayan Tagore, was uncle of Baboo Prasanna Kumar Tagore, and grand-uncle of Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I. His son, Uma Nandan Tagore, was dewan of the Export Ware House and is mentioned also in Heber's Journal (1843 edition, Vol. I. p. 57).

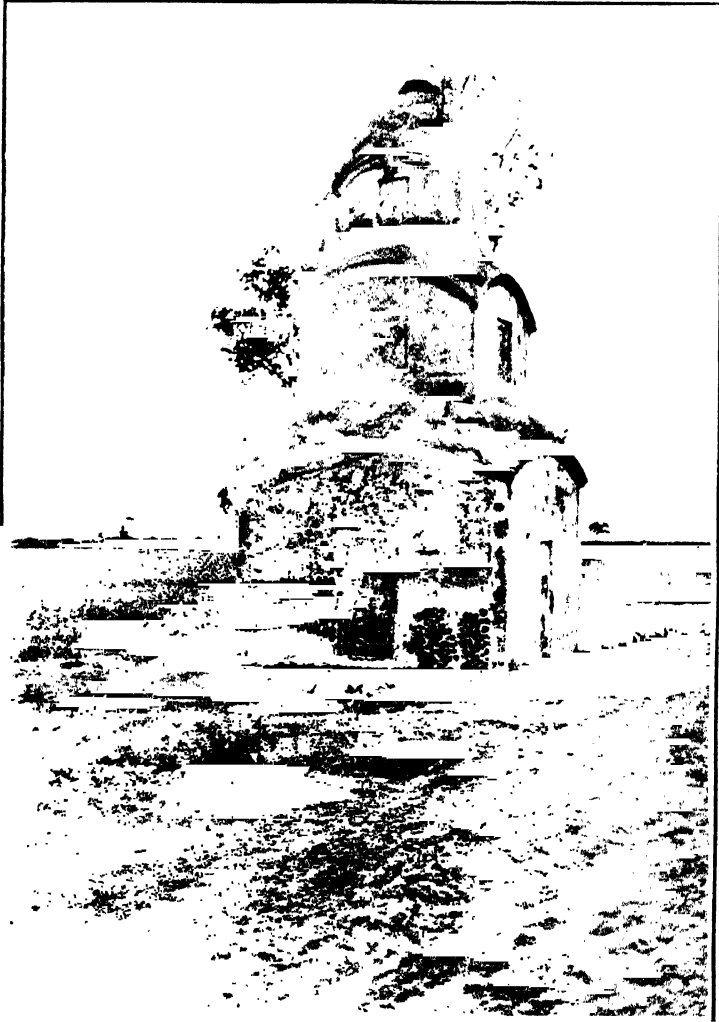
The Sannyasis in Mymensingh: by Jamini Mohan Ghosh, B.A., of the Bengal Civil Service. (The Model Library, Dacca and Mymensingh: Rupee One and Annas Four.)

Warren Hastings writing to his friend Josia Du Pré on March 9, 1773, acquaints him that Bengal "has worn something of a warlike appearance this year, having been infested by a band of Sannyasis": and he proceeds to describe these troublesome folk. "They inhabit," he says, "or rather possess the country lying south of the hills of Tibbet from Cabool to China. They go mostly naked, they have neither towns, houses, nor families: but move continually from place to place recruiting their number with the healthiest children they can steal in the countries through which they pass." Among the districts which they particularly favoured with their unwelcome attentions was Mymensingh: and Baboo Jamini Mohan Ghosh, in this little book, has in the most careful and painstaking manner, collated the various materials available in the District Record-room which relate to the early depredations of these religious marauders. These were of two classes. There were, firstly, those of the nomadic type referred to by Hastings, whose incursions were frequently so formidable as to be dignified by the title of the "Sannyasi rebellion." The other class "settled down in hermitages, which they fortified, and where they combined the trade of money-lending with that of dacoity," as the late Mr. E. G. Glasier puts it in his "History of Rungpore."

The descendants of the latter, if such a phrase can be used of a sect of celibates, still own extensive property in the Mymensingh district, which are held in the name of the head monk or Gosain. Some of these were purchased or seized in liquidation of debts: others were handed over by the zemindars themselves as a means of obtaining immunity. It was not until 1791 that Mr. Stephen Bayard, who had established the headquarters of his collectorate at Mymensingh, was able to restore peace to the district.

Indian Historical Records Commission: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting held at Calcutta in January, 1923. (Government of India Press, Calcutta: Rupees Three and Annas Two.)

An account has already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV, pp. 76-83) of the public portion of the proceedings at the fifth meeting of the Historical Records Commission. The present volume contains, in addition to the full text of the many interesting papers which were read, an official report of the resolutions adopted and recommendations made at the Members' Meeting. It was resolved, *inter alia*, to undertake, with the sanction of the Government of India, an important classification of the Records and to appoint a sub-committee to supervise the work, the object being to separate all documents of admitted historical value, and also of personal and antiquarian interest, from such papers as could not be brought within either category. The question was also discussed as to the best method of making the valuable material in the record-rooms of the Indian States available to students: and the Government of India have been requested to invite His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to send a representative to attend future meetings of the Commission. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda is already represented, and substantial progress has been made with the listing of the papers in the record-room of his State. A resolution was passed expressing satisfaction at the scheme for the establishment of a Central Judicial Record Office in Calcutta which has been put forward by the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court at Fort William. Reference was also made to the necessity for the better preservation of the old Dutch and Danish records at Chinsurah and Serampore.



“ POTT'S FOLLY ” AT CULPEE :
MANO BIBIR GHOR.
(From a photograph by Mr. F. W. Shaw).

The Editor's Note Book.

WE are enabled, through the kindness of Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams, the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust, to present a reproduction on the opposite page of a photograph taken by Mr. J. W. Shaw, officiating Deputy Chief Engineer of the Trust, of the monument on the riverside at Culpee, which goes locally by the name of Mano Bibir Ghor, and which we have endeavoured to identify as "Pott's Folly," or the monument which, according to William Hickey, was erected by Tiretta, under the instructions of Robert Pott, in memory of Emily Warren, the "Thais" of Sir Joshua Reynolds' well known picture (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 111; Vol. XXVI, p. 83). It appears from enquiries made by Dr. T. O. D. Dunn through officers of the Education Department that there is a story current in the neighbourhood that the monument was put up by a man who lost his wife in a collision at Culpee. Both are said to have been Europeans: and the coffin is supposed to contain treasure. A smaller tomb adjoining is alleged to commemorate their dog. Those who have read the article upon the subject in the first part of this volume will observe that this story differs in essential particulars from those which are there discussed.

It is with the utmost satisfaction that we announce the acquisition for the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection, through the generosity of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., of the original painting by Zoffany of "The Embassy of Hyderbeck." A full description of the picture was given in our last issue (pp. 1, 2), as well as an account of the circumstances in which it came into the possession of Mr. Francis Edwards, of High Street, Marylebone, London W.1 The thanks of the Trustees have already been conveyed to Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, and we feel sure that their expression of gratitude will be endorsed by every member of the Society.

THE interesting comments by Mr. H. Hobbs on the Company's European regiments, which were published in the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 95—97) have given rise to a further series of observations by Mr. C. Grey, a Punjab correspondent, which appeared in the *Statesman* of September 23 last. Mr. Grey corroborates the statement of Mr. Hobbs that the earlier European recruits of the Company were exclusively English and largely taken from London: and that even in later days Englishmen contributed the great majority, as the casualty lists of the rank and file sufficiently indicate. "Until 1785, when the Penal Acts against the Catholics were repealed, only Protestant Irishmen were permitted to enlist: and the first Catholic regiment was the Irish Brigade, raised by Irish officers who had been in the French service, and disbanded after

Waterloo." It was not, however, until 1820 or thereabouts that Irishmen joined up at all freely, and even then their number was nothing like as great as is sometimes so easily assumed. Competition with the King's army being forbidden, the Company was driven to stimulate recruiting by high bounties, of which the crimp took the lion's share, for crimping was rampant. Foreigners were largely accepted, and Eyre Coote took as his bodyguard a company of Frenchmen who had been captured on service in India. The ranks were also filled by deserters and fugitives from justice. Warley in Essex was the Company's depot in the early days of the nineteenth century, and it used to be said that the rule was to ask recruits whether they wanted to go out in the first boat or not, in case they had taken "French leave" from a King's regiment and had an urgent reason for speedy departure. Sergeants from the King's regiments were always present at embarkations, but they often had good grounds for failing to identify.

MR. GREY adds some details regarding the low standard of the recruits.

The "Dumpy Pice." The men raised for the three cavalry regiments in the Company's service were of specially small stature and were mounted on country bred horses. The maximum height was 5 feet 4 inches: and the men were in consequence nicknamed the "Dumpy Pice." It was supposed that they were provided with ladders and mounted to the command "down ladders and mount." These cavalry regiments became the 19th and 20th Hussars and the 21st Lancers.

THE question of uniform was comparatively simple. When William Hickey was nominated to a cadetship on the Madras establishment in 1768, he was taken to the India House and introduced to Mr. Coggan, "one of the Company's principal officers." That gentleman gave him a printed list of necessaries for a writer, "observing that most of the articles should be equally useful to a military man, if in addition a few yards of scarlet, blue, green, and yellow cloths were taken, in order to make up regimentals according to the corps to which he might be attached, the infantry wearing scarlet, but with different facings of blue, yellow, and green, the artillery, like His Majesty's, blue with scarlet facings, and the engineers scarlet faced with black velvet." These details will help us to understand the meaning of such phrases as "Lieutenant of the Yellow" which occurs in the following announcement in one of the numbers of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*: "February 26, 1780.—Married last Saturday at Cossimbazar the Hon'ble David Anstruther, Lieutenant of the Yellow, to Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments."

WE are indebted to Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Principal of the Hooghly College, for a valuable note on Charles Croftes, who forms the subject of a reference on page 148 of Vol. XXV of *Bengal Past and Present*. How, he asks, did Croftes come to

Charles Croftes.

earn the nickname of "Idle Charley," by which he is known in Hicky's *Gazette*? He was apparently the best trained accountant in the Company's service, and was continually being called upon to examine accounts, such as those of the Bank, at the Board's request. Moreover, he was specially selected as Accountant-General by Hastings, in 1772. In the minutes of the Committee of Circuit (MS. in Record Office, pp. 275—288) regulations for conducting the general superintendence of the revenue collections at the Presidency were laid down. They created a "Board of Revenue," enumerated the duties of the Roy Royan, and enacted that a "Company's covenanted servant with a competent staff of assistants be appointed to the office of Accountant-General of the Dewanny." The officer chosen for the post was "Mr. Charles Croftes whose diligence and practice in that business . . . justly entitle him to that important charge." Four years later, he was nominated as a member of the important Committee of 1776 which conducted a most important enquiry, based on actual local investigation, into the revenue-paying capacity of the province. The work which thus devolved upon him required a competent knowledge of accounts "in the Bengallese and Persian languages." These facts do not point to an indolent officer.

SIR HENRY COTTON writes of Croftes in his *Revenue History of Chittagong*

"Laborious and conscientious."

that the character of his work as Chief of Chittagong (an office which he held from February, 1785 until his death in September 1786) was "laborious and conscientious, although not altogether such as might be expected from his experience and ability," and that "his letters are a marvel of circumlocution," while "his deference to authority and respect for the Revenue Committee is remarkable." A full account of the career of Croftes will be found on pp. 288—289 of the annotated edition of Grand's Narrative (published by the Calcutta Historical Society in 1910). But it contains one error which Mr. Ramsbotham corrects. Croftes is described as having been sub-treasurer in 1774. "I do not understand," writes Mr. Ramsbotham, "how the Accountant-General of 1772-1773 could have become the sub-treasurer of 1774: nor can any mention of such an officer be found in the revenue records of the Board's Proceedings from 1772 to 1775, which I have examined."

MENTION is made in the first volume of Hickey's *Memoirs* (pp. 288—292) of

A Scapegrace Brother.

a younger brother of Croftes who was in command of a troop in Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, when Hickey met him in London in the summer of 1773. Becoming involved in a scuffle at Vauxhall with the Rev. Henry Bate, the first Editor of the *Morning Post* (afterwards known as Sir Henry Bate Dudley), Captain Croftes substituted a pugilist for himself when a meeting took place between the parties the next day. Bate gave the pugilist a thorough drubbing: but the officers of Croftes' regiment took a more serious view of the matter. He was obliged to sell out, and joined his brother in Bengal. There "an honourable and ad-

vantageous situation " was obtained for him at the Court of the Nawab Vizier at Lucknow : but a year had barely elapsed before he quarrelled at a convivial dinner with a Dr. Murchison, and was shot dead in the duel which followed.

ANOTHER interesting note comes from Mr. Ramsbotham upon the habit attributed by Hickey to Lord Cornwallis of insisting that the corks should be replaced in the bottles during the circulation of the wine at table (see page 29 of the first part of the present volume). He offers the following explanation. The wine would probably be Madeira or port, as claret or Burgundy would be decanted into silver-lidded decanters. It is a common custom at Oxford that all port or Madeira decanted for use in the senior and junior common-rooms shall be sent to table with the glass stopper of the decanter removed and the cork of the bottle from which it has been decanted inserted in its place. In any case, when any old vintage wine is decanted, the practice is to submit the cork for inspection. If it be argued that the wine was drawn from the wood, the answer will be that Lord Cornwallis objected to the flies clustering round the mouth of the decanter.

WITH reference to the article on William Hickey's Houses in Calcutta, which will be found in Part I of the present volume (pp. 31—35) it has been pointed out to us that the following document exists in the Calcutta Collectorate (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 168—169):

No. 1504. 30th September and 1st October 1782—Relates to an upper-roomed house and ground near Champaul Grant and directly facing the New Fort and the next house adjoining to the house known as Mr. Massey's formerly the property of James Ogden and afterwards sold by the Sheriff at public outcry to Rampersaud Chaund. Richardson McVeagh and Robert Robertson make over the property to William Martin for Sicca Rs. 9,000.

This was Hickey's first residence in Calcutta—a cutcha building in which he lived with his old shipmate Cleveland, an assistant surgeon, from January to May, 1778. James Ogden was a pilot. He died on January 7, 1782, and his widow May Ogden married Hugh Darley at St. John's Church on February 11, 1784. With reference to Mrs. Brightman, the landlady of the house "in a central part of the town and not far distant from the Court House" which Hickey rented in August, 1783, see ante., page 159.

WHEN did their Lordships of the Supreme Court move from the Old Court House in Tank Square which stood on the site of St. Andrew's Kirk, to the building on the Esplanade which served their purpose until the erection of the present High Court in 1864? We shall find the answer in the note-books of Mr. Justice Hyde.

January 2, 1782.—We sat this day for the first time at the New Court House, which has been taken by the Company for the use of the Court, at the monthly rent of Rs. 2,500. This New Court House is near Chand Paul Ghat and is near the road which bounds the Esplanade on the one side. The house is the property of Archibald Keir, Esq. and is let by him to the Company for five years.

The building was less spacious than the High Court, which has absorbed in addition three private residences—including, it may be, the one occupied by William Hickey from July, 1784 until his departure from Calcutta in 1808. Archibald Keir, the landlord, had betaken himself to Europe three years earlier by the *Sir William Bensley* Indiaman which sailed in January 1805. He had come out in 1753 as surgeon of the *Godolphin* and served three years in the Madras Presidency. Accompanying the relief force to Futla in 1757, he received a commission as lieutenant and acted as Secretary to the Council. In 1758 he resigned the service, being then a captain, and returned to Europe: but found his way back as a free merchant, and in 1779 purchased mines at Ramghur in Chota Nagpore from the local Rajah. He published in 1771 a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Present State of the East India Company" and "Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal" in the following year.

THE historian of the future will thank the anonymous contributor of the article in the *Statesman* of November 14 on the changes he has witnessed in social observances in Calcutta since he clambered up the slippery banks of the Hooghly some twenty years ago. In old days the "griffin" was, he says, taken in hand and provided with a temporary home by some burra sahib until he had had time to accustom himself to his new surroundings. Calling in state on Sunday morning between the hours of twelve and two was then the fashion. A first class phaeton would be engaged, and shared between several. A morning coat and a top hat were essential by way of costume: but often one top hat would do duty for all, and while one went in to pay his respects the other would wait under the portico or the shade of some neighbouring tree. Nowadays cards are dropped in boxes at all hours of the day; and if a *chokra* is invited to dinner, he is obliged perforce to introduce himself to his host and hostess. Calcutta too has become a city of flat-dwellers, and invitations to stay are rare for the simple reason that there is no accommodation to offer. The old "qui-hye" may well look back with regret to the days when a man could live on his pay and a generous measure of hospitality was the rule in Anglo-India.

IN the article on "Mymensingh Collectorate Records," which was published in the first part of the present volume (pp. 79 to 82) Mr. Jamini Mohan Ghosh observed that during the early British period the jurisdiction of the Collector of Mymensingh extended as far as Bhulluah, the present district of Noakhali.

Changing Social Observances
in Calcutta.

Contoo Baboo and Bhulluah.

Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., points out that this pargana of Bhulluah was one of those farmed by Contoo Baboo, the famous banian of Warren Hastings: and that it was the subject of a special enquiry made by the Committee of Revenue in the latter half of the year 1775. Mr. William Wodsworth (who subsequently served the office of Sheriff of of Calcutta in 1777) was deputed by the vote of the majority (Clavering, Monson and Francis) to enquire into the collections of revenue there and at Amberabad, a neighbouring pargana. He presented his report in November 1775. It furnishes an illuminating comment on the enormous profits made by the zamindars and farmers: for it showed that Contoo Baboo appropriated fifty-five per cent. of the amount actually collected, while the Government drew about forty-five per cent.

MR. J. J. COTTON, of the Madras Civil Service, writes from Paris on September 19: We made the pilgrimage to the tomb of
 The Grave of Madam Grand. Madam Grand at Montparnasse, and I was allowed to copy the *acte d'inhumation* which, I think, has never before been published. It runs as follows:

Préfecture du département de la Seine.
 no. du cadastre, 164.

Il est accordé une concession de deux mètres de terrain dans le cimetière du sud à M. Charles Meurice prince de Talleyrand demeurant à Paris, rue St. Florentin, no. 2. pour y faire la sépulture particulière et perpétuelle de Mme. Catharine Noel Worlée. princesse de Talleyrand, sa femme, décédée le 10 du courant, rue de Lille no. 87.

Paris le 11 xbre 1835.

Le Conseiller d'Etat. Préfet de la Seine.
 Comte de Rambuteau.

Le chef du Bureau Meunier.

Talleyrand's old residence is now the Ministry of Marine, and his wife's house in private occupation. The tomb is bare and unadorned; in fact, it is no tomb at all, but an oblong patch of two metres square enclosed by a low iron railing. We enquired of a sculptor what it would cost to put up a commemorative tablet in marble, and were told that the price would be sixty-eight francs, or less than a sovereign at the present rate of exchange. I suggest that the Calcutta Historical Society should undertake the duty: but an authorization must first be obtained from the Préfet de la Seine. The grave is thus located: 2nd division, 1st section, 7 north by 16 west, No. 734, year 1835. The guide found it for us with difficulty.

THE tradition is persistent that one of the wives of Akbar was a Christian: and two of the pictures shown at the exhibition
 Akbar's Christian Wife. organized in Calcutta in January last in connexion with the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission were stated to represent Mariam Begum. The first, which was lent by Mr. A. Stephen, pur-

ported to be a portrait of Akbar and Mariam : and the second, which is the property of Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, was a portrait of the Begum alone, who, in each case, is wearing a cross round her neck. "W. N. H." writing in the *Statesman* of October 28, refers to the story which ascribes a Portugese origin to her and asserts that she is buried at Secundra close to the tomb of Akbar himself. He points out however that there is no mention of such a lady in the chronicles of Abul Fazl and Badaoni, or, indeed in the works of any historian of the period, and that the presence of the cross is easily explained by the fact that the various Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar distributed many such. The wives of Akbar were four in number : Sultana Rajmahal Begum, the daughter of his uncle Hindal, by whom he had no children : Sultana Salima Begum, a grand-daughter of Babar, who was a poetess : Nur Jahan, the "Istambol Begum" : and Jodhbai, the Rajput princess, who was the mother of Salim or Jehangir.

ALLUSION has already been made in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV. A Contented Civilian. p. 37 : Vol. XXV. p. 95) to Catherine Hampden Hoppner, the strangely-named son of John Hoppner, R.A., the famous portrait-painter, who was in the Company's service in Bengal from 1804 to 1823. The following extract from the Farington Diary not only gives us a glimpse of him in India, but throws a light upon the conditions of service at the time which were clearly very different from the days when civilians in the mofussil grew rich by private commercial speculations of their own :—

July 1, 1810.—Mrs. Hoppner told me Her Son, Hampden Hoppner, is now situated at a station near *Decca*, in the country above *Calcutta*, and has about £700 a yr., and His next advance will be to the rank of a Judge. He will then be able to save money. He now lives upon his income, Has no debts, and His Character is excellent. Excepting being separated from His relations, He is well pleased with His situation : likes the Europeans he meets with, but does not like the natives.

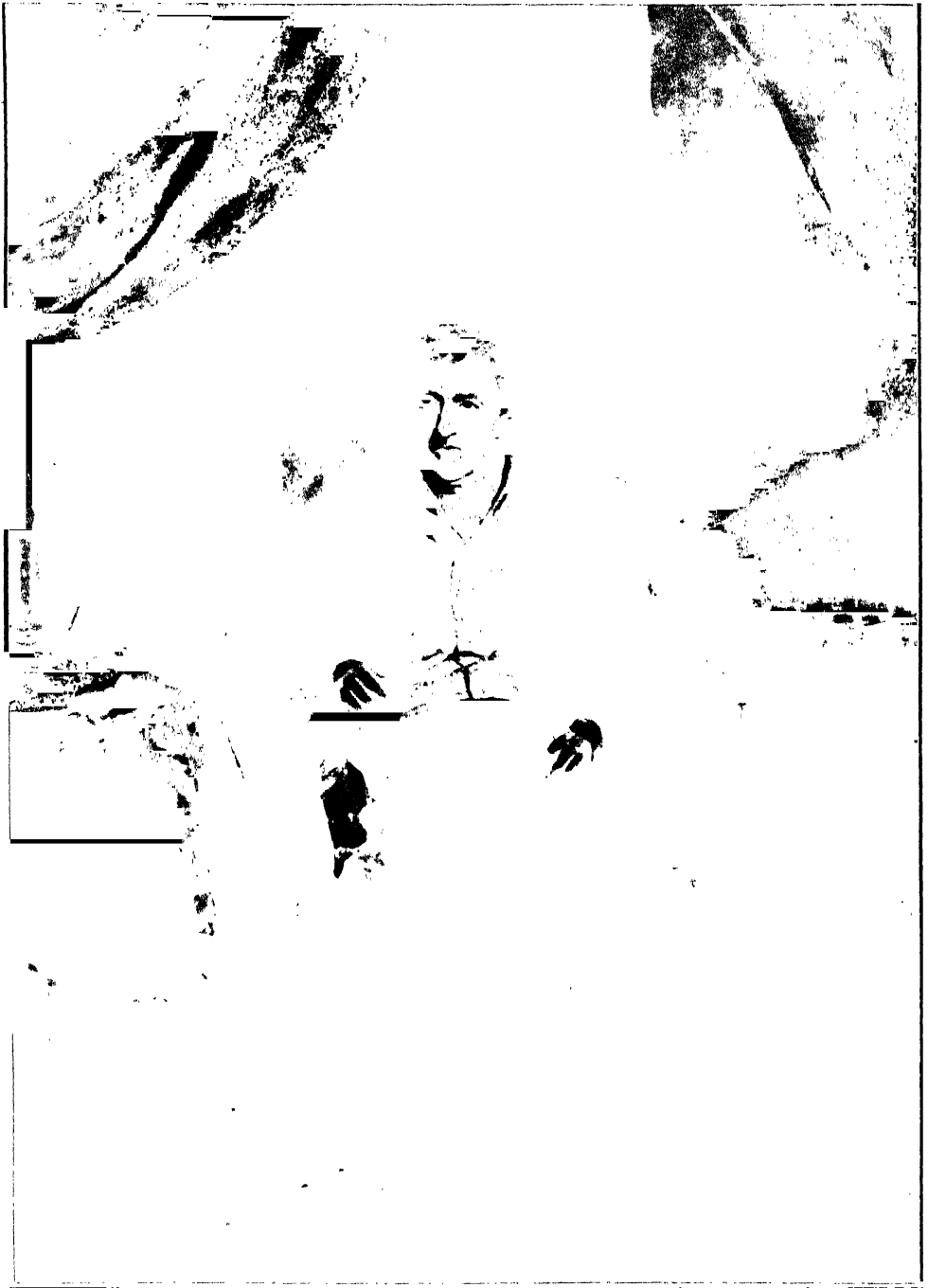
The "Station near *Decca*" is *Backergunge*, where Hoppner served as "Register of the Dewanny Adawlut and assistant to the Magistrate" from July 1, 1809 to September 21, 1810, when he was transferred to the Presidency as Deputy Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties. His first station was at *Bhaugulpore* where he was posted on October 4, 1805 as "assistant to the Register and second assistant to the Magistrate," and where he spent nearly four years. On November 24, 1815, he became Judge and Magistrate of the *Jungle Mehals*, and returned to *Calcutta* on October 23, 1818, as Judge and Magistrate of the *Twenty Four Pergunnahs*. He proceeded to Europe on January 30, 1823, having remained continuously in India since his arrival on December 1, 1804 : and was "out of the service" in 1828.

THE following list of Directors of the Dutch Factory at Chinsurah is given in Mr. O'Malley's Hooghly District Gazetteer (1912, p. 65): Matthias Van der Broucke (1658-1604), Martinus Huysman (1684), Willem de Ros (1706), Antonius Huysman (1712), Vuist (1724), Patras (1726-1727), J. A. Sichterman (1744), Huygens (1749), Louis Taillefert (1754), J. Kersebom (1754), Adrian Bisdom (1754-1759), George Louis Vernet (1764-1770), Johannes Matthias Ross (1780), Pieter Brueys (1783), Isaac Titsingh (1789), J. A. van Braam (1817), and Daniel Oeverbeck (1818-1825). The author of "Asiaticus: in two Parts," whose identity was discussed in our last issue (pp. 3-12) by Mr. Oldham, visited Bandel and Chinsurah in January 1803, and spent six days there. In a note on page 48 he enables us to fill up some of the gaps in the list.

Mr. Vernet succeeded Mr. Taillefer as Governor of Chinsurah in January or February, 1764. Mr. Vernet lived with great hospitality and in a very elegant style until February 1770, when he gave up his charge to Mr. Faure, a gentleman who was sent from Batavia. Mr. Faure was seized with the small pox in April or May that year, which proved fatal. He was succeeded by Mr. Bacheracht, a very worthy and respectable man, who continued Governor of Chinsurah until February 1777, when he went to Batavia, where, it is supposed, he lost his life by the unhealthiness of that place.

The hatchments of "the Worshipful Mr. Boudewyn Verselewel Faure" and his wife are in the Church at Chinsurah (See article in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 124). Mention is also made of the grave in Chinsurah cemetery of a Director-designate, Cornelis de Jonge, "in Syn Ed: leeven gedesigneerd Director deser Directie," who died on October 10, 1743. It is to be noticed that "Asiaticus" found fifteen "escutcheons" in the church whereas the number now is fourteen.

MR. FRANCIS EDWARDS writes: The writer of the article on "Memories of Dum Dum" (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 35-38) may be glad to know, with reference to the D'Oyly Legend which he quotes, that an account of the wreck of the "Charles Eaton" in the Torres Straits and of Charles D'Oyly's stay among the natives of Murray Island is given in a little book by W. E. Brockett, published in 1836 at Sydney, and entitled "Narrative of a Voyage from Sydney to Torres Straits, in search of the Survivors of the 'Charles Eaton' in H. M. Schooner 'Isabella'." The book is rare.



THOMAS DANIELL, R.A.
By His Nephew, WILLIAM DANIELL, R.A.
(From The Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection).

The Daniells in India.

AN UNPUBLISHED ACCOUNT OF THEIR JOURNEY FROM CALCUTTA TO GARHWAL: IN 1788-1789.

ON page 219 of the second volume of Seton Karr's "Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*" the following entry will be found:—

"July 9, 1789.—Extract from a letter from Futtu Ghur, June 8, 1789.

The two Mr. Daniels, (landscape painters) are returned from their excursion. The drawings they have taken of the hills and snowy mountains above Hurdwar are well worth publishing. Several gentlemen from Anopsheer went with them and by all their accounts they have been 60 coss up the course of the Ganges from Hurdwar and where Europeans have never been before. The country people stared at them as if they were supernatural beings, and insisted on looking particularly at their clothes and touching them. They found some parts of the Ganges 40 feet deep and the stream astonishingly rapid particularly near the place called Serinaghur where it is impossible to stem the current. The people cross the river by a curious bridge of ropes. Their passage over the hills was not only tremendous but dangerous from narrow rugged and almost perpendicular paths over immense mountains, continued in many places by the trunks of trees laid from one large rock to another. The prospect of distant villages on the tops of hills and the different ranges of snowy mountains formed the most pleasing view. They met with pine, oak, and cherry trees, raspberry, etc., with many other trees and plants, natives of Europe. The weather was so cold that in the month of May they could not with the assistance of great coats keep themselves comfortably warm."

The "two Mr. Daniels (landscape painters)," mentioned in this extract, are of course, Thomas Daniell (1749-1840) and his nephew William (1769-1837), who spent ten fruitful years in India between 1783 and 1793: and the tour described was undertaken in the country which goes nowadays by the name of Garhwal. An account of the journey written by the younger Daniell, who was then a young man of twenty, has lately come to light among the papers of Joseph Farington, a fellow member with them of the Royal Academy, and an intimate friend of both uncle and nephew. Details have already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 1—8) of the family connexions of Farington with India, and also of the manner in which his Diary was discovered and passed into the possession of the *Morning Post*. That great London newspaper commenced the publication of entries from this remarkable record

of contemporary gossip on January 23, 1922; and on January 25 the following caught the eye of the present writer :—

“ November 3, 1793.—We put up at Mrs. Daniell’s at the Swan [Chertsey] where we were before. This evening Mrs. Daniell brought me a copy of a letter from her son in India whose tour in that country with his Uncle has been more extensive than that of any European artist’s at least.”

To this a note was appended: “Then follows a long and interesting description of his travels.”

On communicating with the Editor of the *Morning Post*, permission was at once most courteously given to transcribe the letter, and it is reproduced on a later page. The copy was made by Farington in pencil and covers fourteen pages of a leather-bound volume.

It may perhaps be of advantage to repeat here that the fruits of this expedition into Garhwal are preserved in the fourth series of “Oriental Scenery” which was published in London in 1807. In this connection it may be mentioned that the India Office possesses six water-colour drawings of scenes in “the Sirinagar Mountains” (Srinagar being the name of the capital of the Garhwali Raja whose territory was visited). In the earlier article on the Farington Diary, to which allusion has been made, a suggestion was offered that the authorship of these drawings might be attributed to one or the other of the Daniells, although these particular sketches are not to be found in “Oriental Scenery.” But further investigation has tempted another theory which is elaborated on a later page. Apart from these a water-colour by Thomas Daniell, representing the Rope-bridge at Sirinagar (24 inches by 17 inches) was purchased in 1915 for the India Office and was transferred last year (1922) to the office of the High Commissioner for India. There is also an “unidentified” painting in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection which may very well be the “View on Sirinagar Mountains” exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1797.

In Room 107 at the India Office are also two water-colours which represent “The Chalis Satun, Allahabad” and a landscape scene “near the Source of the Ganges.” Neither are signed, but both are in the style of the Daniells; and the first is undoubtedly the same as the sixth sketch in the first series of “Oriental Scenery.”

The Victoria Memorial Hall collection is happy in the possession of a fine portrait of Thomas Daniell in his old age (1). This picture, which is the work of his nephew William and is said to have been painted at Windsor, was purchased by Lord Curzon for the collection in February, 1916, for £31-10-0. By the courtesy of the Trustees, we are enabled to present a reproduction based upon an excellent photograph taken by Mr. F. Harrington, the Curator, to whom our thanks are likewise due. A portrait of both Thomas and William

(1) Thomas Daniell died unmarried in 1840 at the age of ninety-one at his house in Earls Terrace, Kensington. No pictures were exhibited by him at the Royal Academy after 1828.

Daniell was also painted by Robert Home and presented by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

There are other portraits of the Daniells in existence. One of Thomas Daniell was painted by Sir David Wilkie and forms part of the National Gallery Collection. The Royal Academy possesses miniature portraits of both uncle and nephew by Sir William Newton (1785-1869), and (in addition) a drawing of William Daniell and his wife by Mrs. Daniell's brother Richard Westall (1765-1835; A.R.A. 1792, R.A. 1794). Thomas Daniell's portrait is also among fifty-three portraits of Academicians executed by George Dance, R.A., in pencil washed with colour. Both this and the companion sketch of Zoffany by the same artist, were exhibited at the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1907. As to these Mr. John Evan Hodgson, R.A., and Sir Frederick Eaton in their book on "The Royal Academy and its Members," (1905) say at p. 88 :—

Amongst the treasures of the Royal Academy is a beautiful series of profile portraits by George Dance. They were engraved by William Daniell, R.A., but no reproduction can convey any idea of the excellence of the originals (2).

The story of the journey, which William Daniell gives in the letter to his mother, may profitably be compared with the descriptive matter attached to the twelve views of the Garhwal country which are to be seen in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*. One notable omission occurs. William Daniell has nothing to tell his mother about the Rope-bridge at Sirinagur which forms the subject of the twenty-third sketch. Otherwise the two accounts are remarkably similar. Of the remaining twelve views in this series five represent scenes in Bengal and seven deal with subjects in Madras.

The sketches in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* which was published in London on March 1, 1795, are directly referable also to the period of the expedition into Garhwal. They consist of 24 views "drawn and engraved by Thomas Daniell" and "taken in the years 1789-1790." Similarly, the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* published in 1799 under the title of "Antiquities of India" (and sometimes referred to under the latter name alone) contains twenty-four views which are stated to have been taken in the years 1790 and 1793. It will be seen later that in both these series are sketches of many of the places which occur in William Daniell's letter to his mother.

Mention may also be made in this connexion of the four Bengal views, including two of Calcutta, which are given in "A Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China by Thomas Daniell, R.A., and William Daniell, A.R.A., London, 1810." These are :—1. Near Cucrahuttee on the Hoogly river.

(2) George Dance the younger (1741-1825) succeeded his father (1700-1763) as architect to the City of London, and designed old Newgate prison (1770-1783), St. Luke's Hospital in Old-Street, and the entrance facade of the Guildhall. From 1798 to 1805 he was Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy: and it was not until his later years (1808) that he took to portraiture. At the time of his death in 1825 he was the sole survivor of the foundation members (1768) of the Royal Academy, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

2. Near Gangwaughcolly (Geonkhali) on the river Hoogly. 3. View of Calcutta from the Garden Reach; and 4. Old Fort Ghaut, Calcutta (3).

Thomas Daniell is represented at the National Gallery by "A view of the Nullah, near Rajmehal, Bengal"—a picture which does not appear to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy :

Examples of the elder Daniell's work may likewise be found in "Twenty-Four Views of Hindoostan : drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures by Mr. [Thomas] Daniell and Colonel [Francis Swain] Ward," and published in London by Edward Orme in January, 1805. Ten of these views are by Thomas Daniell, namely :—9. A View of Ossoore [Hosur : on the Bangalore plateau]. 10. Thebet Mountains. 11. West Gate of Firoz Shah's cotillah, Delhi. 13. A Pagoda. 14. A Hindu Place of Worship. 15. Dalmow, on the Ganges. 18. The Bridge at Juonpore, Bengal. 19. Distant view of Motee Thurna [sic], a waterfall in the Rajemahl Hills, Bengal. 21. Tomb of a Moorish Lady, Bengal, and 23. Felicity Hall, late the Residence of the Hon'ble David Anstruther, near Moorshedabad, Bengal.

No. 16 (Fortress of Gwallior, taken by General Popham) and No. 24 (Kuttull [sic] Minor, Delhi) bear no artist's name, but the latter is probably the work of Daniell, who certainly made it the subject of a sketch (also numbered 24) in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery*. The former may be the work of Ward, for we have no record of any visit to Gwalior by the Daniells. William Hodges, however, exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1786, a "View of the north-west side of the Fort of Gwalior in the East Indies taken by Lieut.-Col. Popham, August 4, 1780." The picture was purchased by Warren Hastings, and an engraving of it will be found opposite page 142 of Hodges' "Travels in India during the years 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783" (published in London in 1793). Hodges visited the place in May, 1783, and gives an account of the capture of the Fort which he takes from a letter written by Captain Jonathan Scott, the Persian interpreter with Popham's force, to his brother Major John Scott Waring. The twelve remaining views are inscribed with the name of Colonel Ward, who died at Negapatam in 1794. These include the well known view of the Old Court House at Calcutta (drawn in 1784), a sketch of the Fort at Muttra, and two sketches of Anopshoor, but are otherwise entirely concerned with Fort Saint George and Southern India.

THE MYSTERY OF THE ORIENTAL ANNUAL.

It so happens that there is yet another account of this journey into Gairwal; and it is to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (pp. 1 to 39). This is a publication which appeared annually from 1834 to 1840. The illustrations to the first five volumes, from 1834 to 1838 are engraved by various hands from drawings and pictures by William Daniell. He died in 1837, and the remaining volumes, for 1839 and 1840, contain engravings by Thomas Bacon, F.S.A., from drawings by other artists.

(3) Reproduction of the two latter sketches are given in the late Mr. Wilmot Corfield's "Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days," published by the Calcutta Historical Society.

The letter-press to the volumes is contributed by the Rev. John Hobart Caunter, B.D., a prolific writer of the period, who tells an extremely circumstantial story of the manner in which he came across the Daniells in India, and accompanied them in their travels, including (as he avers) the expedition into Garhwal. He arrived, he says (*Oriental Annual*, 1835, p. 1) in Madras at the end of September (the year is not specified) and he continues (pp. 14, 21):—

During the monsoon I had the good fortune to obtain an introduction to Mr. W. Daniell and his uncle, who had both been already some time in India, and with whom I agreed to travel, as soon as the weather should permit. Shortly after the 15th December . . . my two friends and I began to prepare for a journey down the Coromandel Coast. I purchased a young Arab horse . . . providing myself at the same time with a commodious palankeen. . . My fellow-travellers determined to make use only of their palankeens, so that we were each suited precisely to our respective tastes and ready to start towards the beginning of a year which we had made up our minds to devote exclusively to the enjoyments of travelling. . . On the 5th January, about twelve weeks after our arrival, we commenced our journey.

The succeeding pages show that the route taken was by way of Covelong, Mahabalipuram (the Seven Pagodas), Chingleput, Outramalore, Wandiwash, Gingee, and Trinomalee, to Tanjore, which was reached in the evening of the fifteenth day after leaving Madras. Trichinopoly, Salem and the temples at Tritchencore (4) were next visited: and then Ramiseram, after a return to Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The journey thereafter lay down the coast to Panamgoody "immediately upon Cape Comorin," and then to Palamcottah, Tinnevely (where the falls of Puppenassum were visited), Dindigul, and back to Ramiseram where a crossing was made to Ceylon. We are next invited to believe that the party took passage in a "country ship" to Calcutta and proceeded thence up the Hooghly. It was "nearly a month" before they entered the Ganges at Sooty, visiting Rajmahal on the way. The itinerary now includes the Colgong Hills, the "falls of Mootee-jerna," Patna, Dinapoor, Buxar (with a détour to Sassaram), Ghazipoor, Benares (where they took up their abode near the Shewallah Ghaut, the former residence of Cheit Singh, at the northern extremity of the city), Chunar, Cawnpoor, Kanouge, Futtypoor, Agra, (near which it is recorded that Dowlut Rao Scindia, the grandnephew and adopted son of Mahadaji Scindia, passed with 30,000 troops and 2,000 elephants), Delhi, Anopshur ("a military station of some importance on the Ganges") and finally through Rohilcund to Hurdwar, "whence we resolved, after staying as long as might be agreeable or convenient, to return to Calcutta."

But, "before we quitted Hurdwar, we made a short excursion to the lower regions of the Himalaya Mountains," or in other words, to Garhwal: and "a particular account of this part of our excursion" is contained in the opening

(4) Thomas Daniell exhibited a "View near Salem" at the Royal Academy of 1797: and "Gate leading to Hindoo Temple at Tritchencore" at the Academy of 1795.

pages of the *Oriental Annual* for 1835. It serves as an interesting commentary upon the description offered in the letter which Farington copied. But it must be said at once that the facts connected with the career of the Rev. J. Hobart Caunter, B.D., which are obtainable from works of reference, do not in any way lend colour to his claim to have been the travelling-companion of the Daniells.

The Daniells are known to have been in India from 1783 to 1793: and they were certainly in Calcutta from 1786 to 1788: for it was during those years that Thomas Daniell engraved and published his famous *Twelve Views of Calcutta* which are believed to be the earliest "street views" of that city (5). They must therefore have gone up-country from the Presidency and could not have paid a prior visit to Southern India, for it is stated distinctly in the letter-press to the second series of the *Oriental Scenery* that in June 1792 they had proceeded south to Trichinopoly, were in Madura in July and at Tanjore in September of that year, and returned to Madras in 1793. We may also note (apart from the evidence contributed by the Farington letter) that the assertion is directly made in the letter-press to drawing No. 14 of the fourth series which contains the Garhwal sketches that "this view was taken in April, 1789, immediately previous to the author's passing through the mountains."

Now, Caunter was born at Dittisham in South Devon on June 21, 1792 and proceeded to India as a cadet about 1811. He tells us in the *Oriental Annual* (1834, p. 1) that "India was the country which I fixed upon as the scene of my projected wanderings as soon as I became of age," and, if this is a correct statement, the date of his arrival in India must be delayed by another two years. Some sort of clue is afforded by Caunter's further story (*Oriental Annual*, *ibid*) that he took his passage for Madras in the *Atlas* Indiaman and "after an agreeable voyage of little more than four months, on the 26th of September, came in sight of the Asiatic shore." Now, the *Atlas* (1,200 tons, Captain Charles Otway Mayne) sailed from Portsmouth on January 26, 1813, on her maiden voyage to Madras and China, and returned to her moorings on August 9, 1814. But if the voyage lasted "little more than four months" Madras should have been reached in May or June, instead of in September. Such are the difficulties in which the reverend gentleman lands the enquirer who endeavours to test his statements. No other voyage will apply: for the old *Atlas* (763 tons, Captain Allen Cooper) made her fourth and last voyage to Bengal and back in 1787-1788: and the second voyage of the new *Atlas*, which was to Madras, Penang and China, commenced on February 28, 1815 and ended on May 15, 1816.

(5) A list of these views was given in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 182. They measure (engraved surface) about 20¾ inches by 15¾ inches and were printed without margins or titles. But at one of the lower corners of each plate, the inscription "T. Daniell Fecit, Calcutta" with the year and number of the series will be found. These views are probably among Thomas Daniell's earliest efforts in aquatint engraving. [See article by the late Mr. George Lyell in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III, 1909 p. 308.]

It is possible that Caunter may be referring in reality not to himself, but to William Daniell : for the old *Atlas* did sail from Portsmouth for "the Coast and Bay" on March 11, 1783 : and this date would not conflict with that of the arrival in India of Thomas Daniell and his young nephew (6). In any case, we read in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Caunter "was soon disgusted with Oriental life" and having "discovered much to his disappointment nothing on the continent of Asia to interest him" he returned home. Proceeding to Cambridge he took the degree of B.D. and entered the Church.

By the courtesy of Mr. H. Mitchell of the Record Department of the India Office the following particulars have been obtained of Caunter's very brief career in India. His cadetship, which was on the Bombay establishment, was for the season 1810, but he was not actually appointed until April 24, 1811. The date of his arrival in India has not been traced, but it was probably in the latter part of 1811, as his commission as ensign is dated October 25, 1811. He resigned the service on January 21, 1814, and there is no evidence that he ever went near Madras or Bengal. In the application for appointment to a cadetship he stated that his father George Caunter was Police Magistrate at Prince of Wales Island (the modern Penang).

It will be seen that the reverend gentleman's reputation for veracity will not survive any sort of investigation into recorded facts. Nevertheless, he is persistent in his allegations that the Daniells were his travelling-companions. In the *Annual* for 1834 he writes (pp. 34, 35) :—

We spent several days at Mahabalipuram, examining all the extraordinary monuments of art in its neighbourhood which abounds with objects of natural as well as of artificial interest. Mr. William Daniell took the opportunity during our stay of making some very accurate and finished drawings : and here he found subjects in every respect worthy of his pencil. Some of the magnificent fruits of his and his uncle's labours have been already offered to the world in their *Oriental Scenery*. Of this noble production it is not too much to say that it stands at this moment unrivalled for accuracy of delineation among the productions of modern art, and yet it remains almost unnoticed.

An engraving of a drawing by William Daniell of "A Temple at Mahabalipoor" is inserted opposite page 32 of this volume (1834). Among the twenty-four views "by Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A." in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* (which are expressly stated to have been "taken in the years 1790 and 1793"), the following relate to the Seven Pagodas : No. 1, sculptured rocks at Mauveleporam : No. 2, the entrance of an excavated Hindoo Temple at Mauveleporam : No. 21, a pavilion belonging to a Hindoo Temple (near Mauveleporam).

(6) The *Atlas* left Calcutta on her return voyage in January, 1784, and arrived in the Downs on July 28, 1784. She took home Mrs. Hastings and Augustus Cleveland. The latter died on board before the ship reached the Sandheads and his body was taken back to Calcutta for burial. His tomb is in the South Park Street Cemetery.

In the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 105) free rein is similarly given to the imagination, in describing the halt at the Chauter Serai, built by Asaf Khan, brother to the Sultana Noor Jehan, on the road from Delhi :—

“The morning after our halt at this interesting spot Mr. Daniell and myself rose early in order to indulge ourselves with a sight of the beautiful prospect around us.”

And the reader is duly presented with a drawing by William Daniell of the Agra Gate of the Serai (7).

Again, at page 4 of the same volume (1835), we find an account of the manner in which the sketch was drawn of the rhinoceros of which an engraving by J. Redaway is inserted opposite that page. The scene is laid in the forests which cover the base of the foothills on the way up to Serinagur by the Coaduwar gaut :—

“We had turned the angle of a hill that abutted upon a narrow stream when on the opposite side of the rivulet we saw a fine male rhinoceros. . . . It stood apparently with great composure about two hundred yards above us, in an open vista of the wood. Mr. Daniell, under the protection of a lofty intervening bank, was able to approach sufficiently near to make a perfect sketch of it.”

Thomas Daniell, who is hardly mentioned by Caunter, exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1799, a picture entitled “A Forest Scene in the northern part of Hindoostan with Rhinoceros.” But the original of the engraving in the *Oriental Annual* is no doubt, the picture of the “Indian Rhinoceros” exhibited by William Daniell at the British Institution in 1832.

Divested of romance, this much can be affirmed, that the Rev. Mr. Caunter’s account of his alleged wanderings, which is written in graphic style, is based in the primary degree upon notes and other information furnished by William Daniell himself. Many incidents are repeated, and the description of the journey into Garhwal closely resembles the narrative given in the letter-press to *Oriental Scenery*.

The letter transcribed by Farington leaves the Daniells at Baghulpoor on July 30, 1790 : and we know from the *Calcutta Gazette* that they were at Futty Ghur on June 8, 1789. Whether their return to Calcutta took the form which it assumes in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty : but such incidents as the exciting encounter with the wild sow in the jungles of Gour, and the loss of the baggage-boat off Rajmahal “with everything we possessed in the world, except our papers and drawings,” can

(7) Chauter Serai has undergone both phonetic reform and curtailment (writes Mr. F. C. Scallan, who has succeeded in identifying the place). It is now known as Chhata, and is a town on the direct route from Muttra to Delhi, about 60 miles from the latter city. The *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. X. p. 197) gives the following in its note on Chhata :

“Town, Muttra district : The principal feature of the town is its large fort-like sarai, covering twelve acres, with battlemanted walls and bastions and two lofty gateways... dating from the time of Sher Shah or Akbar.”

The mention of the sarai sufficiently connects the Chhata of today with the “Chauter Serai” of the *Oriental Annual*. There is a railway station here, on the G.I.P. extension to Delhi,

hardly have been invented. Mention is also made of an excursion from Benares to Gaya by way of Rohtasgarh, through a region which is amply illustrated both in Royal Academy pictures and in *Oriental Scenery*.

THE DANIELLS' TRAVELLING COMPANIONS.

If, as appears to be established beyond dispute, the writer in the *Oriental Annual* did not accompany the Daniells on the expedition to Serinagur, we learn definitely from the letter transcribed by Farington that they did not go alone. The party which actually made the journey into Garhwal consisted, we are told, of two gentlemen only in addition to Thomas and William Daniell. The identity of one of the two companions is revealed at p. 435 of the eleventh volume of *Asiatick Researches* (Hindoostanee Press, Calcutta, 1810) in the course of an essay by H. T. Colebrooke on the sources of the Ganges. It is there stated:—

At the period of the publication of a second edition of his memoirs, in 1792, Major Rennell was possessed of correcter information, concerning the position of Srinagar (visited in 1789 by Capt. Guthrie and Mr. Daniell): which enabled him to correct the gross error committed by Tieffenthaler who placed Srinagar N.-N.-W. instead of E.-N.-E. from Haridwar.

John Guthrie was gazetted to a cadetship on the Bengal Establishment in 1771 and received his first commission on March 15, 1773. He became Lieutenant on May 15, 1778, Captain on January 11, 1784, Major on October 30, 1797, and Lieutenant-Colonel on April 21, 1800, and was killed in Bundelcund on October 18, 1803.

Who was the other companion? The temptation is great to identify him with Samuel Davis. We know from an entry in the Farington Diary of February 12, 1807, that he was a close friend of the Daniells, who "resided twelve months in India in the same House with Him." (8) He went to Bengal as a cadet in the

(8) The entry in the Diary is as follows (*Morning Post*, December 13, 1922.)

February 12th, 1807—Wm. Daniell's I dined at. Mr. Davis went to India in 1780 in the Fleet in which Hodges sailed. He sailed from England in January, 1780 and did not arrive in Bengal till February following. He continued in India 25 years and did not arrive in England till July last....He is much attached to Art and has practised drawing as his most favourite amusement. He was Accountant-General of Bengal some years. He married Miss Boileau, niece to Mrs. (Lestock) Wilson and has seven children. The two Daniells resided twelve months in India in the same House with Him.

A later entry gives further particulars—

August 28, 1807—(Thomas) Daniell told us that Mr. Davis, of Harley Street, was known to Him near 40 years ago at Maxwell's the coach-painter, in Queen Street (where Daniell was an apprentice). Davis went to India as a cadet and changing to a Civil situation, at last became Accountant-General at Calcutta under Marquiss of Wellesley.

Samuel Davis, being then a Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble English East India Company's service, married at Burdwan on September 24, 1794, Henrietta Boileau, of Burdwan, spinster. For some account of Lestock Wilson, who was a retired Commander in the Company's Marine service, see *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXIV, pp. 28, 29.

Company's engineers in 1780 at the age of 20, and in 1782 was appointed by Warren Hastings to accompany Captain Samuel Turner on a mission to Bhutan which was ultimately to proceed to Tibet. Davis was an excellent artist and the Bhutan illustrations in Turner's "Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet" (published in 1800) are executed by him. The original drawings, nineteen in number, which were long in the possession of his son, Sir John Francis Davis, have now been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. The Tibetan Government (or more probably the Chinese Resident) would not permit Davis to enter Tibet, on account of his profession as an engineer, and he therefore remained in Bhutan where he spent about six months. He was appointed to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on August 7, 1783: but there is a gap in the Records of the Government of India between that date and May 1, 1793, when we find him as Collector of Burdwan. On July 13, 1795, he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Benares, and gallantly defended the narrow stairway of his residence, Nandesur House, with a hogspear, when it was attacked, after the murder of Mr. George Frederick Cherry, the Resident (9), on January 14, 1799, by the followers of Wazir Ali, the pretender to the *gadi* of Oudh (10). On May 6, 1800 Davis was transferred to the 24-Pergunnahs as First Magistrate and Superintendent-General of Police. On April 1, 1801, he became third member of the Board of Revenue and on May 1, 1804, Accountant-General. He resigned the service in India on February 21, 1806: and was elected a Director of the Company in 1810, retaining his seat until his death in 1819. He was the compiler of the famous Fifth Report in 1812.

What is the evidence upon which it may be presumed that Samuel Davis accompanied the Daniells on their expedition into Garhwal in 1789? The suggestion is that a clue may be found in a portfolio of miscellaneous drawings

(9) Cherry was also an artist. He was Lord Cornwallis' Persian Secretary at one time and when on a mission to Seringapatam in 1792, painted a portrait of Tippoo Sultan, which was presented to the East India Company in 1854 by Tippoo's son, Prince Gholam Muhammad, K.C.S.I., and now hangs in the Finance Committee-room at the India Office. A similar portrait once belonged to the Marquess Wellesley and is now in the collection at Apsley House. It has been several times engraved: and one of the engravings will be found in Lieut. James Hunter's "Picturesque Scenery in Mysore" published in 1805. (see Foster's Catalogue, p. 19.)

(10) See "Vizier Ali Khan, or the Massacre of Benares: a Chapter of Indian History" (first edition 1844, second edition 1871) by Sir John Francis Davis, Bart. K. C. B. (1795—1890), sometime Minister at Peking and Governor of Hong Kong, who was a child of three, when his life was saved by his father's gallant exploit. Col. J. H. Rivett-Carnac (Bengal Civil Service, 1858—1894) who was a grandson of Davis, relates in his "Many Memories" (London, 1910) that his grandmother kept the hog-spear in a corner of her drawing room in Portland Place and that Mountstuart Elphinstone used to come at least once a year to "do poojah to the spear." A sketch of Nandesur House by Samuel Davis is in the collection of prints at the Indian Museum. The younger Davis was appointed to a writership on the Company's China Establishment in 1813, while his father was a Director: and was promoted to be President of the Factory at Canton in 1822. Two of his brothers, Lestock Davis and Sullivan Davis, were writers on the Bengal Establishment: but the career of each was brief. The former arrived in India on June 17, 1819, became assistant to the Governor General's Agent in Bundelcund, and died at Seonee on December 2, 1821. The latter arrived in India on October 31, 1820 and died in Calcutta on December 22 of the same year.

by Davis, which is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. This bears the book-plate of Sir John Francis Davis, and was presented through Lord Curzon in 1919 by Mr. Justice L. P. Beaufort, of Wynberg, Cape Colony, a great-grandson of Samuel Davis.

There appears to be no foundation, as far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, for the theory that the Daniells accompanied Davis into Bhutan. Had they done so, it is inconceivable, in the first place, that they would have returned without a single sketch of that country (11). William Daniell engraved and published a series of "Views of Bootan from sketches executed by Samuel Davis": and there are some six or eight of these views to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1837 and 1838. The illustrations to this periodical were supplied by William Daniell: but in the preface to the *Annual* for 1837, it is distinctly stated that the Bhutan views are drawn from "sketches made by the late Samuel Davis, who visited Boutan in 1783." (12). Not one word is said as to any visit paid to Bhutan by William Daniell or his uncle, either by themselves or in the company of Davis: and the omission is inexplicable, if such an expedition actually was undertaken. Moreover, they did not arrive in India until the autumn of 1783, when Davis had returned from Bhutan. The legend seems to have arisen from an erroneous belief that Samuel Daniell, the brother of William, who lived for some time in South Africa and eventually died in Ceylon of malaria in 1811, had also travelled as far north as Bhutan. A statement to this effect appears in Redgrave's "Dictionary of British Artists of the English School" and also in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: but it has been corrected in the new edition of the latter work.

While no views of Bhutan are to be found in *Oriental Scenery*, the subjects of the sketches in the portfolio of drawings by Davis lend considerable colour to the belief that he was the companion of Thomas Daniell and his nephew in their journey to Garhwal in 1789, and possibly into Southern India also in 1792. We find sketches of "Trinomalee near Chevalpettore, three or four days' journey to the south of Madura," Tritchengur (Tritchencore), and "Outer Durg," and "South-east Jugdeo," the last two being Droogs or hill forts in the Burramahal.

(11) It is true that Thomas Daniell contributed a sketch of "The Thebet Mountains" as already stated, to the "Twenty Four Views of Hindoostan," published by Orme in London in January, 1805, but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that it was based upon a sketch by Davis. See following note.

(12) See "*Oriental Annual*" for 1837, preface, p.x. "I am requested by Mr. Daniell to state that the views in Boutan, engraved in the present volume were made from sketches by the late Samuel Davis, Esquire, who visited Boutan in 1783. Mr. Davis was an accomplished draughtsman, with whom Mr. Daniell was personally acquainted and can therefore answer for the accuracy and fidelity with which the sketches were made." Davis died in 1819. The sketches are 1. Crossing a torrent in Bootan (p. 9). 2. Capta Castle, Bootan (p. 51): 3. Near Buzaduwar, Bootan (p. 54). 4. View near Wandepore, Bootan (p. 91): 5. Palace at Tacisudon, Bootan (p. 105): 6. Palace at Wandechy, Bootan (p. 121). No. 4 was worked up into a picture by William Daniell, who exhibited it at the Royal Academy of 1811. Two other Bhutan views are to be found in the "*Oriental Annual*" for 1838: 1. Guard House at Tassisudon, Boutan (p. 222): 2. Castle of Ponaka, in Boutan (p. 235).

The counterparts of all these are to be seen either in pictures exhibited by the Daniells at the Royal Academy or in *Oriental Scenery* (13). Again, we have sketches of Gour, the Fakeer's Rock "at Jehangeree on the Ganges," the Odoannullah (Oodwa-nullah) bridge (the scene of Major Thomas Adams' signal victory over Meer Kasim in 1763), "a basaltic rock in the hills of Rajmahal" the "Cascade at Suttisghur near Chunar" and, finally, no less than four sketches of the "Mootee Jhurna" fall in the Rajmahal hills of which distinct mention is made in the letter transcribed by Farington. Most important of all, however, is a sketch representing "Thomas Daniell, R.A., and his nephew William Daniell, R.A., together with the artist Mr. S. Davis," encamped amid mountainous scenery. A pencil inscription on the back of the sketch gives the locality as "the hot springs of (name left blank) in Bhutan." The opinion is hazarded here however (for reasons already stated) that the scene is laid in the foothills on the way to Garhwal. A reproduction of the sketch is given on the opposite page (14). It is suggested further that the series of six "views in the Sirinagur mountains" which are to be seen in the India Office, and of which the authorship has not been established, are the work of Samuel Davis. Three of the drawings are thus described by Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., in his catalogue (1906):—(1) The Coa Nuddy about five Koass (coss) from Coaduwar (Kotdwara) Ghaut: (2) Deasen, a village about midway from Coaduwar Ghaut to Sirinagur: (3) Sirinagur on the Alucnindra, the principal branch of the Gasges. The remaining three are catalogued as "views in the Sirinagur Mountains, British Garhwal." Five of the drawings are painted in oils on paper. The sixth is a water-colour copy of one of the "views in the Mountains."

There can be no question as to the artistic ability of Davis. Perhaps the best-known instance of his skill is a view of "Calcutta from Fort William", which forms part of a series of engravings on Indian subjects published in 1805-1807. The engraving was executed by C. Dubourg in coloured aquatint from a painting by Davis.

(13) The following Academy pictures were exhibited by Thomas Daniell: "Gate Leading to Hindoo Temple at Tritchencore," 1795: "Hindoo Temple at Trinomalee," 1796: "View at Chevalpettore with Hindoo Buildings," 1799: "Tritchencore, a mountain of great celebrity with the Hindoos," 1815: "A view taken near the magazine on the top of Ryacotta, a lofty Droog or hill fort, one of the Barrah Mah'l," 1815: "Krishnagherry a hill fort in the Barrah Mah'l," 1818. As regards "Oriental Scenery," we have the following: Third series (1801) No. 11. "Jug Deo and Warrangur, two of the twelve hill forts in the Barramah'l which were in the possession of the late Sultaun Tippoo, and given up without resistance to the English in 1792": No. 12. "Ryacotta in the Barramah'l one of the highest and strongest hill forts, taken by Major Gowdie in July 1792." Fourth Series (1807): No. 5. "Chevalpettore": No. 6. "Near Attoor in the Dindigul district."

(14) We have again to thank the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall for permission to reproduce the sketch, and Mr. F. Harrington, the Curator, for the admirable photograph which he has been good enough to take.



.. THOMAS DANIELL, R.A., AND WILLIAM DANIELL, R.A.
WITH THE ARTIST IN CAMP..

By SAMUEL DAVIS

(From a portfolio of Sketches in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection).

WILLIAM DANIELL'S LETTER TO HIS MOTHER.

(AS TRANSCRIBED BY JOSEPH FARINGTON, R.A.)

Mr. Daniell's letter is dated July 30, 1790, from Baghulpoor.

The two Mr. Daniells explored a country very little known to the Europeans and even to the natives of Hindostan.

From this excursion they returned about four months before the letter was written. Their excursion lasted about 18 months.

They departed from Calcutta about the end of September, 1788, soon after the season of the rains had abated. As the roads at that time were not good, they were advised to proceed by water. The eldest Mr. Daniell hired a Pinnacle Budgerow, roomy and convenient, with masts and sails. They were long in getting through the river Cossimbazar on account of bad winds and strong currents, but at last entered the Ganges. The Cossimbazar river is about as wide as the Thames at London Bridge, the banks decorated with Hindoo temples and villages.

Much trade is carried on from cities on the Ganges by means of the river which makes it alive. When they entered the Ganges, they found it from one to three miles wide. When the rains overflow it, it is double that width. They were towed by 16 or 20 Watermen and went without wind about two or three miles an hour: with the wind about double that rate. The Rajemah'l hills appeared in three days—arrived at the city of Rajemah'l which 150 or 200 years ago was the capital of Bengal—visited the ruins of the place and were struck with a new stile of building. Soon after departing from thence saw a waterfall among the hills. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon fastened the boat and set of to get a near view—got to the fall in an hour and a half—found it between 30 and 40 feet wide, and the precipice over which it dashed about 40 feet high. Except in the rainy season the water is very inconsiderable, but what falls is so clear as to have been called in the Hindoostanee language *Mooté Thuma* (sic) or the Fall of Pearls (15)—returned to their boat about dusk.

In a few days reached Baghlipore situated on the banks of a small river which an island three miles wide and six long separates from the Ganges. A Resident is here settled to collect the revenues of the district of Rajemah'l. Here are a few gentlemen's houses with grounds laid out in the English taste. Proceeded to Monghir: a few miles below is a Hot well called Satacoonda much frequented by Hindoos who [come] to purify themselves by prayers and ablutions which they stand in great need of and to pray to the image of Satta, the wife of one of their principal gods. The water of this well is remarkably good. It is constantly carried to Calcutta for such as are [sick]—there are other wells in the neighbourhood but inferior. Mr. Daniell thought the waters of all of them better than those at Bath.

Monghir is esteemed the Montpelier of Hindoostan.

(15) The Motijharna, or pearl cascade.

Proceeding thence in a few days passed Patna, Ghazepore, and Benares—the two former Mussalman cities of consequence. The latter the first Hindoo city in the world. Idols and images are very numerous. The number of [those] who particularly on holidays go to get purified is considerable. This district is estimated the most fertile in India.

From hence in two days reached Chunar Gur situated on a rock which juts into the Ganges. Hearing that a party at Cawnpore were about to make the tour of Agra and Delhi they hired a small boat—pushed forward—in three weeks reached that place. That party had gone 10 or 12 days before. Heard of another party which was to go from Futty Ghur 80 or 90 miles further up the country. They immediately proceeded to this place in palankeens and got to Futty Ghur in a day and a night. The Coll. commanding with 12 or 13 gentlemen were preparing to make the excursion and kindly invited us to be of the party.

Between Chunar Gur and Cawnpore about 60 miles from the former place stands the Fort of Allahabad built by the Emperor Akbar about 200 years ago. It is situated in the conflux of the rivers Jumna and Ganges and makes a very magnificent appearance. Asoph ul Dowla is destroying this noble work and conveying the stones to Lucknow. For a few miles beyond the Fort the Ganges in consequence of a very narrow channel is so rapid that boats pass it with great danger and require dexterous management to prevent their upsetting.

Near hence the banks of the river begin to be very high—from 20 to 50 feet with wood and villages all the way to Cawnpore. During the dry season this celebrated river will scarcely admit a boat that draws four feet water to go up it: but in the rainy [season] is sufficiently deep to float a man-of-war.

The party left Futty Ghur and proceeded towards Agra, 15 Europeans whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000, besides elephants, camels, horses, bullocks and other beasts of burthen. The usual manner of travelling was to rise about five in the morning, then walking till warm as it is rather cold in January and February so high up, and then mount elephants, camels, horses, etc. as [are] at hand—moved about 15 miles which we could do before 9 o'clock and found a breakfast, tents, etc. prepared by a guard sent on overnight. In about six days arrived at Agra. It is situated on the river Jumna whose banks for many miles are covered with ruins of Mussalman grandeur. But the principal object is the tomb of Muntaza Zemani or the most exalted of this age, the wife of Sha Johan, one of the Mogul Emperors, who reigned about 150 years ago. The material with which this immense octangular building is raised is chiefly marble and the inside laid with precious stones. It stands close to the river on a platform of near 40 feet high and between 2 and 300 feet square. In the four corners are placed four pyramidical pillars 150 feet high and being open at top were formerly used for assembling people to prayers. In the centre of the building are the tombs of Sha Johan and his queen: an elegant garden is adjoining with fountains. The whole cost £750,000 and was begun and finished in 15 years.

There is also a Mussalman fort of great antiquity.

Between Agra and Delhi the country not long ago was uncommonly beautiful, but such destruction has been brought on it by war, scarcely a tree or blade of grass is to be seen.

In 14 days after leaving Agra, having passed through Mutura, where Scindia (16) had his camp, reached Delhi, the capital of Hindoostan, but miserably fallen from its former greatness. A Pallace was assigned for their residence, but the curiosity of the people to see them obliged them to retire to the skirts of the city.

Delhi is said to be 30 miles in circumference—of it nothing [to be seen] but ruins of the remains of mosques, pallaces, tombs and forts which are innumerable. The profusion of marble which is scattered about gives an idea of its former magnificence.

There are still remaining little decayed the tombs of some of the Mogul Emperors. The mosques which have suffered least are superb beyond description. Black and white marble are the materials with which they are built and the golden domes that finish their buildings add considerably to their beauty. Handsome gateways and noble flights of steps.

Delhi was the seat of government during the reign of 12 Emperors.

The present inhabited city of Delhi is in tolerable order. They visited a pillar in the city of this form (sketch given showing a cylindrical shape) which measured 242 feet in height from its base. From the top they commanded an extent of 50 miles in circumference strewed over with heaps of ruins. This pillar has been raised upwards of 750 years yet has suffered little injury. They staid at Delhi three weeks. They got up and breakfasted by sunrise and then went to work. From Delhi they crossed the Jumna and proceeded to Anopshur, the highest settlement the English have, which they reached in five days. They thought they saw the snowy mountains from this neighbourhood.

With a guard of 50 soldiers Mr. Daniell, his nephew, and four other gentlemen only proceeded towards the snowy mountains nine days at about 14 miles a day: and reached a large city in the country of Rohilcund which Mr. Hastings' trial has made well-known (17). The commander, a native, showed them great attention. From hence the first range of mountains are distant about 15 miles and the snowy ones which they saw from Anopshur about 10 or 12 days journey, which were just seen from here. The commander wrote to the Rajah or prince of Sirinagur for permission for the party to enter his country. Sirinagur is the capital of a country of that name. As an answer could not arrive in less than 10 or 12 days they visited in the meantime Hurdwar, above 30 miles from Nujeebabad, signifying the Gate of Heaven in the Hindoo language, where the Ganges rushes out of the hills and enters the

(16) Mahadaji Scindia, who died suddenly at Wanowree, near Poona, in 1794.

(17) The context shows that the place in question is Najibabad, now in the Bijnor district. Under the treaty of October 7, 1774, it was provided that Faizulla Khan, the Rohilla chief of Rampore, should "send the remainder of the Rohillas to the other side of the river" into the territory of the Nawab of Najibabad.

plains of Hindustan. Here vast numbers of people assemble from all parts of India to perform ablutions and free themselves from impurities they may have been guilty of. A great annual fair is held here. It was now a time of one of their festivals when they carry their religious enthusiasm to excess, almost approaching madness. It was supposed 100,000 people were now assembled here. It was attended with some danger to the Europeans while they were possessed with this Phrenzy.

The Rajah's answer was favourable. Such was the prospect of difficulties to encounter in endeavouring to accomplish this further excursion that two of the four gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Daniel declined the undertaking. The remainder set off from Nujeebabad and the first day entered a *gaut* or pass into the mountains and stopped at night at a village called Coajuwar. The difficulties of travelling now appeared so formidable that their Bengal servants left them, and they hired hill servants to carry their baggage, etc. This delayed them some days. A few soldiers were placed at the gaut to prevent any persons from entering the pass without permission from the Rajah.

The two first days journey lay up a river course or nullah (18) in which fragments of rocks, etc. made the passage very difficult—the other few days journey over the sides and tops of mountains from which scenes of the grandest kind were exhibited. They here found the oak, fir, Beech, willow, and raspberry bush 10 feet high (19). On their arrival at Sirin-*(sic)* they did not meet with such a reception from the Nabob (Rajah) as they expected. He was at war with a neighbouring Prince (20) and seemed desirous of the assistance of the Europeans which they declining he appeared to have an intention of securing their persons by proposing that they should cross the river in order to be removed in case the enemy attacked the city. They saw through the contrivance, and finding he could not obtain his object the Rajah behaved civilly to them. Three days the time they remained, the inhabitants of the city crowded round their persons to gaze at their novel appearance so as to oblige them to apply to the Rajah for soldiers to keep of the mob. The situation of the affairs however prevented them accomplishing the wished for object of visiting the snowy mountains though only three or four days journey from Sirinagur, but an enemy so near made it dangerous. They therefore proceeded on their return towards the plains of Hindoostan by the way of the gaut which they entered, after having had the gratification of visiting a country which no European had ever seen.

After making a circuitous visit to the city of . . . (21) they came down to Lucknow where the Nabob (22) visited them and expressed his pleasure in seeing the drawings which [Mr. Daniell] had made and commissioned him to

(18) The "Koah-nullah" which forms the subject of the 15th sketch in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery." "Coajuwar" is the village of Kotdwara.

(19) The common *fragaria indica* which resembles a raspberry.

(20) The Goorkhas who had occupied the neighbouring district of Kumaon.

(21) The name is left blank in Farington's transcript.

(22) Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh from 1775 to 1797.

make a set of views about Lucknow (23) which Mr. D. undertook and under many disadvantages, it being the rainy season, completed them, which took him three months. The Nabob received them, but Mr. D. could never get the smallest retribution for his time and trouble.

Mr. D. has not been successful in his endeavour to make a fortune. All admired his work but little was received from those who expressed it.

"FROM CALCUTTA TO THE SNOWY RANGE" IN 1789.

It will be seen from the opening words of William Daniell's letter to his mother, that he left Calcutta with his uncle towards the end of September, 1788, proceeding by river as the custom was. "The eldest Mr. Daniell hired a pinnace Budgerow, roomy and convenient, with masts and sails." A Budgerow, says the writer of the letter-press in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 100), "is a large unwieldy flat-bottomed boat with eighteen oars, more or less, and a lofty poop, covering nearly three-fourths of its length, under which are two capacious cabins with venetian blinds to exclude the sun and to admit the air."

Nothing is said about the opening part of the voyage: and yet it aroused the unstinted admiration of Miss Emma Roberts, who made the journey in 1835 (*Sketches and Characteristics of Hindoostan*, Vol. I, p. 274):—

The reputation for splendour of the Anglo-Indian style of living appears to be fully borne out by the grandeur of the display made upon the banks of the Hooghly. The European towns which grace the shore are superb: palace succeeds to palace as the boat passes Ishara, Barrackpore, and its opposite neighbour Serampore whose broad and beautiful esplanade presents one of the finest architectural landscapes imaginable. The French settlement at Chandernagore offers a less striking and imposing front and though boasting houses of equal splendour does not appear to much advantage from the river while Chinsura at a short distance is infinitely more picturesque.

The ancient Portuguese settlement at Bandel was, however, certainly visited: for sketch No. 8 of the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "a view "Near Bandell on the river Hooghly" and the opportunity is taken to introduce a reference to the practice of *suttee*. The letter-press says:—

"The small monumental erection in the centre of this view, as well as the obelisk near it, rudely carved of wood, are called *Suttees* . . . having been raised to commemorate the immolation of certain unfortunate females who in compliance with a horrid custom among the Hindus, had been induced to give the last dreadful proof of conjugal fidelity."

At one time Bandel was a favourite haunt with residents in Calcutta.

Each other place is hot as Hell,

When breezes fan you at Bandell.

(23) The following views of Lucknow are included in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* (published in June, 1801): 5. The Punj Mahalla Gate: 6. Palace of Sujah-ud-doula (Machhi Bhawan): 18. Lucknow from the opposite bank of the Goomty.

Thomas Daniell also exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1799 a picture entitled "Dutch Budjerau's on the River Ganges." The sketch was probably taken off Chinsurah which remained in the possession of the Dutch until 1825 when it was exchanged for Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra.

On account of bad winds and strong currents they were long in getting through the river Cossimbazar. This stream, otherwise known as the "Bogrutty" (Bhagirathi) is shown in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* (published in 1781) as leaving the Ganges at Pookareah (Pukharia) and flowing past Jangipur, Moorshedabad, and Plassey, to Nadia, where it meets the Jelingi and unites with it to form the Hugli. Thomas Twining, who took the same journey in 1794, writes (*Travels in India One Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 94 and 111):—

Shortly after passing Nuddea we reached the head of the Hooghly, as that point is called where the Jellinghy and Cossimbazar, two branches of the Ganges, meeting, form by their union that river. The Cossimbazar Channel is considerably less than the Hooghly, scarcely exceeding the width of the Thames at Richmond, even in the rainy season. The large triangular tract of country, bounded by the two streams to the East and West, and by the course of the Ganges to the North, is called the Cossimbazar Island. . . . Six coss beyond Jungypore we reached Sooty, a small village on the right bank, and from which this part of the Cossimbazar river takes its name, being called the Sooty Nullah. It is very contracted and shallow, and not being navigable, in the dry months, obstructs the navigation between Calcutta and the Ganges until the general rising of the water.

The first city mentioned by Daniell is Rajmahal: and sketch 24 in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* represents the "Mausoleum of Nawab Asoph Khan at Raje Mahl." The ruins of the old Mahomedan city are buried in jungle and extend for about four miles to the west of the modern village. It is not clear what the "new stile of building" is which struck the artists. The chief antiquities are the Jama Masjid built by Raja Man Singh of Amber, (Akbar's Rajput General, who selected Rajmahal as the capital of Bengal after his return from the conquest of Orissa in 1592), the Palaces of Sultan Shuja and Kasim Ali, Nawab of Bengal, and the *phulbari* or flower-garden. William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1822 a "View at Rajemah'l on the river Ganges." This represents a tomb on the river bank and is probably the picture engraved by J. C. Armytage for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834 (p. 93) and there entitled "Mausoleum at Raje Mah'l." The sketch in *Oriental Scenery* was reproduced by Thomas Daniell in a larger painting which was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1822: "A part of the Mausoleum of Newaub Assuph Kahn at Rajemah'l on the western bank of the Ganges." Mention has already been made of his "View on the Nullah, near Rajmehal, Bengal," which is in the National Gallery collection. William Hodges exhibited a "View of a ruined Mosque at Rajemahael in Bengal" at the Royal Academy of 1787.

After leaving Rajmahal, the next point of interest is Sicra Gulley (Sakrigali), six miles east of Sahibganj : which forms the subject of sketch No. 9 of the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*. The village lies at the base of a long promontory running down from the Rajmahal hills, which terminate in a rocky knoll : on the top of which is an old Mussulman tomb. The letter-press to the sketch in *Oriental Scenery* says :—

The point of land here projecting into the river Ganges is called Sicra Gulley from a military pass of that name in the adjoining hills. At this place is commonly an assemblage of small vessels which with the craft of various descriptions that appear scattered over the surface of this widely extended river, produce a most impressive effect of commercial activity. . . . The small building upon the lower eminence is a bungalow or cottage, belonging to the British resident of the Baughulpore district. . . . On the upper ground is the tomb of a Mahomedan sied, or holy man."

The pass, which consists of a narrow winding road, has long ceased to be of strategic importance : and Bishop Heber, when he visited "Sicligully" in 1824, speaks of the ruinous condition of the bungalow and the adjoining barracks of the Hill Rangers, raised by Augustus Cleveland of "Jungletery" fame who died in January 1784, in the river, on board the *Atlas* Indiaman which was conveying him to Europe. Nor are the fortifications to be seen which struck Emma Roberts :—

The monuments at Sicligully and the neighbouring hills have a fort-like appearance : they are surrounded by bastioned walls and arise on spots cleared of woods on the summits of these eminences.

Hodges, in his *Travels in India* (London 1793, p. 22) gives an engraving of a picture by him of "The Pass of Sicri Gully from Bengal entering into the province of Bahar" from "the collection of Warren Hastings, Esq.," and mentions that it was formerly fortified with a strong wall and gate.

Twining must be referring to Sakrigali when he writes : "We (entered a fine nullah after leaving Colgong and) came to at a very picturesque spot near a bungalow. The next day we passed Baughulpore, commonly called Boglipore, a considerable town which gives its name both to the district and to the nullah on which we were proceeding. A large white house upon the right bank of this nullah belonged to the same officer as the bungalow near which who had stopped the previous evening. Its previous occupier was Mr. Cleveland." . . . "The nullah joining the Ganges at each extremity, we came out at its northern end after a very pleasant voyage through it."

Reference is next made to "a waterfall among the hills. . . . called in the Hindoosthanee language Mootee Thuma [*sic*], or the fall of pearls." We shall find this cataract mentioned in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 101) :—

We were induced to hand and visit the waterfall of Mooteejerna, between Rajmehal and Colgong, but it did not at all realize due expectations,

falling far short of what we had seen in the southern extremity of the Peninsula (24).

The Motijharna, or pearl cascade, is situated at the head of a picturesque glen of the Rajmahal hills, about two miles south-west of Maharajpur Ghat Station, on the East Indian Railway loop line. There are two falls, each fifty or sixty feet in height, the water of a small hill stream tumbling down over two ledges of rock. In spite of the disappointment expressed, the cascade has often been sketched. Among the drawings contributed by Thomas Daniell to "Twenty-Four Views in Hindoostan: drawn by Daniell and Col. (Francis Swain) Ward," (London, 1803) is the following: "19. Distant View of Motee Jhurna, a Waterfall in the Rajmehal Hills, Bengal." This is a set of particular value: and is usually bound up with Lieut. James Hunter's "Picturesque Mysore" and Blagdon's "History of India." There is a complete copy in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection. The waterfall was visited by William Hodges when he travelled by palankeen from Calcutta to "Mongheir" in the summer of 1781, and a painting of it by him was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1787 under the title "View of the Falls of Mootejerna in Bengal." (25)

Between Colgong and Bhagalpur the river takes a sharp bend and on the left hand bank is Patharghatta, where a halt must have been made, for at the Royal Academy of 1804, Thomas Daniell exhibited "Pattergotta on the river

(24) At Puppenassum and Courtallum in the Tinnevelly district (see sketches Nos. 2 and 3 in the 4th series of *Oriental Scenery*: and engraving by J. H. Kernot of William Daniell's sketch of Puppenassum in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 at p. 61). These falls were favourite subjects with both the Daniells. Thomas Daniell exhibited: 1. A picture called "Courtallum near Tancarchy" at the Royal Academy of 1796: 2. "Puppenassum—a waterfall in the mountains in the Tinnevelly district" at the Royal Academy of 1800: 3. "Tancanche" at the Royal Academy of 1808: 4. "Puppenassum, a cataract on the river Tumrabunni in the Tinnevelly mountains of great celebrity with the Hindoos," at the Royal Academy of 1812. William Daniell's Academy pictures of Southern India waterfalls were: 1. "The Falls of Courtallum or Teia Cauchy in the Tinnevelly district," 1833: 2. "The Falls of Cauvery, Southern India," 1833: 3. "Waterfall near Vatlagunta in the mountains that divide the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, its height between seven and eight hundred feet," 1829. Puppenassum (Papanasham) is 6 miles from Ambasamudram and 29 miles from Palamcottah. It lies west of Tinnevelly at the foot of the western ghats. The height of the cataract is only 80 feet, but the body of the water is greater than at Courtallum. There is a large Saivite temple here. Courtallum (Kuttallam) is nowadays a summer residence. It is distant 38 miles by road from Palamcottah, through Tinnevelly, which lies to the south. There are three falls, the highest being 1,000 feet above the sea. Tancarchy, Tancanche, Teia Cauche (Tenkasi) is 3 miles from Courtallum, and has a fine temple. The falls of the Cauvery are at Shivasamudram, 78 miles from Bangalore. The height to which the water descends is about 200 feet, and in the rainy season, an unbroken sheet of water, three-quarters of a mile broad, falls into the precipice.

(25) There are four sketches of the "Mootee Jhurna" (Upper fall 104 feet: lower 105 feet) by Samuel Davis in a portfolio in the Victoria Memorial Collection. A drawing of "The Motee Gerna or Fall of Pearls in the Rajmahal Hills" will likewise be found in Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ramus Forrest's "Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna" (twenty-six coloured aquatints, 1824). The Victoria Memorial collection possesses a framed aquatint of the Falls (with the same legend) by T. Sutherland (published by R. Ackerman, London, August 1, 1824).

Ganges : Hindoo devotees." Emma Roberts writes : "The projecting points of Colgong and Patergotta form a beautiful bay at this place." (Vol. ii, p. 88). Hodges (*Travels in India*, p. 25) says : "The Ganges has more the appearance of an ocean at this place than of a river."

After leaving Bhagalpur and on the way to Monghyr sketches were taken at Jehangira and Sultangunge; ("Sculptured rocks at Sultangunge" : T. Daniell, R.A., 1806 : "The Fakeer's Rock near Sultangunge" : *Or. Scenery*, VI. Nos. 9 and 10). Emma Roberts' account of these places is as follows :—

Among the interesting places in the neighbourhood of Monghyr the celebrated rock of Jungheera must not be omitted. It consists of several masses of grey granite rising boldly from the river. It has been during many ages considered one of the most sacred places in the Ganges, and is a great resort of Hindoo devotees. Jungheera is inhabited by Hindoo fakeers. At a considerable distance below Jungheera there are other rocks : profusely sculptured.

The difficulties of navigation at this point were, she says, tremendous :—

At Jungheera, a bold and picturesque rock rising from the centre of the river, the current seems to concentrate its power . . . and when the river is full, it is only a strong wind which can enable vessels to struggle successfully against the overpowering vehemence of the torrent.

The more prosaic Twining observes (p. 126) :—

Soon after re-entering the great river (at Bhaugalpore) we passed Sultangunge on the western (left) bank and near it a small island consisting of a rock of a conical form and considerable height. . . . Although a picturesque object, it is a serious obstruction to the navigation of the river.

His rate of progress is thus recorded (p. 127) :—

"In two days more (after passing Sultangunge) we reached Monghir."

At Monghyr "esteemed the Montpelier of Hindoostan" the Sitakund spring was visited. There are frequent allusions to these springs in Anglo-Indian literature. General Godfrey Charles Mundy, in his "Pen and Pencil Sketches in India," which gives an account of Lord Combermere's journey through the northern provinces (London, 1st edition 1832, with 26 etchings of hunting scenes by Landseer) writes under date of February 25, 1829 :—

The chief lion of the place is a hot well called the Seeta Coond or well of Seeta—the Apollo of Indian mythology—about four miles from the Fort (of Monghyr). It is situated in a pretty wooded dell : and the fact is singular that, within a few feet of the hot well, there are several springs of cold water. The heat of the Seeta Coond is usually about 137 degrees of Fahrenheit; it is painful to keep the hand for more than an instant in the stream; and instances are recorded of persons having been scalded to death by falling into it. The water, having no mineral admixture in its composition, is extremely pleasant to the taste; and such is its purity and durability that I considered six dozen

quarts, sent me by a friend for my voyage to England, an offering at least equivalent to Horace's "plenus Albanī Cadus." The well is considered a spot of great sanctity by the Hindoos, and superstition has invested it with a divine origin.

Thomas Twining (1794) thus records his impressions :—

I had no means of ascertaining the heat, but my guide said it was sufficient to boil an egg in a very short time—a fact I could easily conceive, for I could not keep my hand in the water for a moment. No mineral quality was discoverable in it either by the taste or by the external appearance of the ground over which it flowed away. Its principal virtue was its purity and consequent wholesomeness and also its property of remaining good for a great length of time in casks or bottles. For these reasons it is not only much drunk by the wealthier inhabitants of Monghyr or such as can afford to send for it, but is often despatched to Calcutta for the use of persons about to undertake a sea voyage (p. 129).

Mr. E. B. Eastwick in his *Hand Book to the Bengal Presidency* (1883) mentions in his account of "Munger" (p. 185) that the spring, which is "a pool from 5 to 20 feet deep," is "railed in to prevent a recurrence of pilgrims being pushed in at festivals."

No sketches appear to have been taken at Sitakund or at Monghyr itself : but Peer Pahar, a steep hill just three miles from Monghyr railway station, on the way to Sitakund, which is two miles further on, supplies the subject for a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1813 : "A view looking towards the river Ganges taken from an eminence called Peer Pahar." There is a saint's tomb on the top of the hill—hence its name—and a bungalow which was once occupied by Col. (or Gen.) Beckett and his Kashmiri wife, and now belongs to the Tagore family.

Patna, Ghazipore, and Benares, are duly passed after leaving Monghyr. It was probably on the occasion of this upward journey that Moneah, or Maner, was visited, after leaving Patna (26). Sketch No. 12 of the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "The Mausoleum of Mucdoom Shah Dowlut at Moneah, nearly at the junction of the Soane and the Ganges." Mucdoom Shah died in the reign of the Emperor Jehanghir early in the sixteenth century. Says Twining of this part of the journey (p. 140) :—

About nineteen miles after leaving Dinapore, we arrived at the mouth of the Soane. . . . Its sources are in some hills connected with the chain which begins at Rajmah'l, through an opening in which it flows in a northerly direction, entering the southern parts of Shahabad under the impregnable heights of Rotas, passing not far from the ancient city of Sasseram . . . and finally joining the Ganges near the

(26) "From Patna I made an excursion on foot, about five coss, to view the mosque of Moonhier, on the river Soane."—Hodges (*Travels in India*, p. 45). This visit was paid when the artist was on the way to Benares with Hastings in the summer of 1781, prior to the insurrection of Cheyt Singh.

town of Moneah at a point where stands a fine mausoleum erected over one of the ancient princes of the country.

No sketches of Ghazipore are to be found in *Oriental Scenery* but Thomas Daniell exhibited a "View of the garden of Fyz Ali Kahn taken at Ghazepore on the river Ganges" at the Royal Academy of 1820, and "a Mosque, and public well near the garden of Fyz Ali Khan at Ghazepore on the banks of the river Ganges" at the Royal Academy of 1824: while William Daniell showed "A Mahomedan Mausoleum at Ghazepore" at the Royal academy of 1800. As regards Patna and Benares, sketches Nos. 10 and 14 of the first series of "Oriental Scenery" (views taken in 1789 and 1790) represent respectively "part of the city of Patna" and "Ramnugger, nearly opposite Benares" (27). Sketch No. 20 of the third series is "The Baolee, or public bath, at Ramnugger." The "Oriental Annual" also contains engravings of the three following sketches of Benares by William Daniell: 1834, p. 128, "Mosque (of Aurangzeb) at Benares" p. 142, "Shuwallah Gaut, Benares"; 1835, p. 190, "The Bernar Pagoda, Benares." The following pictures of Benares were exhibited by the Daniells at the Royal Academy in the years specified: Thomas Daniell: View at Benares, 1797: Gate of Old Fort at Benares, 1799: Gauts, etc. at Benares, 1802; part of Benares, 1806; A scene on the river Ganges, above Benares, 1814: William Daniell: Shuwallah Ghaut, Benares, 1802. William Hodges' Diploma picture, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1787, represents a "View of part of the city of Benares in the East Indies."

Sketch No. 10 of the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*" represents "Ramgur or Rampoor, in the district of Benares": and the letter-press states that the place "at present has little of magnificence to boast of." We find a clue in Twining (p. 153): "In two days more (after leaving Ghazypore) having passed the Goomti, a small river on our right and near it the village of Rampore, we reached Benares."

Chunar Gur, "fifteen miles higher up the river from Benares" (Twining, p. 155) is reached in two days after leaving that place. It provides two sketches for "Oriental Scenery." Drawing No. 23 of the third series is a view of the "Mausoleum of Kausim Solemanee at Chunar Gur," which is stated to be "17 miles above Benares": and No. 24 in the first series (views taken in 1789 and 1790) represents a "Gate leading to the Musjed at Chunar Gur." A painting of "Chumar (*sic*) Gur, an ancient fortress on the left bank of the river Ganges" was exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1827 and is now in the Tagore collection. The Fort of Chunar, writes Twining (p. 155) is "considered almost impregnable": and it certainly resisted with success two assaults by the troops of Colonel Hector Munro after the battle of Buxar in 1764.

(27) A budgerow, flying a large Union Jack, figures prominently in the foreground of the sketch of Ramnugger.

Shuja-ud-Daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh in 1765 and given by Clive to the Emperor Shah Alam are often called "Corah and Currah." In the time of Akbar Kora was the capital of a *Sarkar* in the *Subah* of Allahabad. Manikpur is a village on the north bank of the Ganges, slightly to the north of Currah, and is now a station on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. There is a drawing of "A Ferry on the Ganges at Karrah" in General Mundy's "Pen and Pencil Sketches in India" (1832). Between Currah and Cawnpore on the opposite bank of the Ganges, and in the Rae Bareli district, is Dalmow, of which a drawing by Thomas Daniell is given in "Twenty-four views of Hindustan" "drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures by Mr. (Thomas) Daniell and Colonel (Francis Swain) Ward" (London, 1805). It was at Dalmow that Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief met Asaf-ud-Daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and agreed upon joint action against the Rohillas in 1794 (Second Rohilla War).

No sketches seem to have taken at Cawnpore, which, says Hodges (*Travels*, p. 100) "may be considered as a great encampment." A brigade was stationed there "amounting, on the war establishment, to ten thousand men." From Cawnpore the travellers proceeded to Futtu Ghur in a day and a night. Twining says (p. 170): "from Cawnpore to Futtu Ghur the river offered nothing remarkable excepting the remains on the western bank of the celebrated city of Canouge": Sketch No. 12 in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery" represents "Cannouge, on the river Ganges:" and there is another of "Ruins at Cannouge" (No. 7) in the first series. "It is impossible," says the letter-press to the fourth series, "to look at these miserable remains without the most melancholy sensations and the strongest conviction of the instability of man's proudest works." There is similar moralizing in the "Oriental Annual" for 1834 (p. 188.)

At Futtu Ghur the Daniells joined a party which was preparing for an excursion to Delhi and Agra. The letter makes mention of 15 Europeans, "whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000." The number seems excessive, and it may be that 3,000 is an error in transcription for 300. Yet it was certainly the custom in those days to travel in State. Sir Edward Paget, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1822 to 1825 (when he was succeeded by Lord Combermere) journeyed to Lucknow in October, 1823, and was thus escorted:

I have often heard of the multitudes which accompany a camp in India, but, without seeing it, it was quite impossible to form an idea of it. I suppose that the total number of my suite and escort does not exceed 250 persons, and I am confident that I am within bounds when I say that the camp-followers exceed 5,000. These consist of servants of all sorts, tent pitchers, the drivers of all sorts of vehicles and animals, from the sociable down to the wheelbarrow and from the elephant down to the spaniel: tradesmen of all deno-

minations, from the cobbler up to the silver-smith, victuallers, thieves, money-lenders, lawyers! (29).

Even maiden ladies travelled with a large retinue. Emma Roberts (Vol. 1, p. 157) says that her train for a march up-country with another lady, consisted, besides two female attendants, of a khansamah who had the direction of the whole journey, three khidmutghars, a sirdar-bearer, a tailor, washerman and water-carrier, a cook and mussaulchees, twelve bearers for each palanquin, and claishees (khalasis, tent pitchers) banghie-bearers and coolies almost innumerable. They took twelve camels with them which were lightly loaded with a couple of tents, and were escorted by a guard of sepoy.

The journey from Futtly Ghur to Agra occupied six days, across country. At Firozabad, on the opposite side of the Jumna to Agra, a sketch is taken of "The Hirkarrah Camel" which forms the subject of an exhibit by William Daniell in the Royal Academy of 1832. This picture, with its companion "The Caparisoned Elephant," sketched near Delhi, and exhibited in the same year, was bought by Sir John Soane, R.A., and the two now form part of the Soane collection in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Both were engraved for the "Oriental Annual" of 1834 (pp. 204, 210). At Agra a number of sketches were taken. Thomas Daniell exhibited the "Principal Gate of the Fort of Agra" at the Royal Academy of 1808: and one of William Daniell's earliest Academy pictures was a "view of the Fort at Agra taken from the ruins of the Palace of Islaum Khan Rumi" (1799). He also showed at the Academy of 1835. "The citadel of Agra which (according to the autobiographical memoirs of the Emperor Jehanguier) cost in building £26,550,000, taken from near the ruined palace of Islaum Khan Rumi, the Chief Engineer of the Emperor Humaioon."

The Taj Mahal was not forgotten. There is only one sketch of Agra in "Oriental Scenery" and that is No. 18 of the first series, which represents "the principal gate leading to the Taje Mah'l at Agra," termed in the letter "the tomb of Mumtaza Zemani." This was one of the names of Arjamand Banu better known as Noor Mehal, for whom the Mausoleum was built by her husband Shah Jehan in 1631. The letter-press is as follows:—

This gate is of red stone and white marble, elegantly ornamented. The spandrels over the arches are decorated with foliage of various coloured stones inlaid. The Taje Mah'l is a Mausoleum of white marble . . . and is considered by the natives as the most beautiful work of the kind in Hindoostan. . . The space between the gate and the tomb is converted into a garden with avenues of trees, fountains, beds of flowers, etc. The river Jumna washes the lofty walls of the terrace on which this celebrated building stands.

(29) Letter dated October 28, 1823, to Lady Harriet Paget: quoted in *Letters and Memorials of the Hon. Sir Edward Paget*, G. C. B. (Bliss Sands & Co., London, 1898). Selections from the letters were printed in Vol. XXIV of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 95—102).

The drawing is one of the least happy of Thomas Daniell's efforts, and it will be noticed that he keeps his own opinion of the building in reserve. Hodges, on the contrary, exhibited two pictures of the Taj at the Academy, in 1787 and in 1794, and writes in his *Travels* (p. 126) that "the whole together appears like a most perfect pearl on an azure ground." Zoffany's comment will be recalled: "It wants nothing but a glass case to cover it." William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1829 a painting of "The Taj Mahal at Agra viewed from the opposite side of the river Jumna": and an engraving of the picture by J. Lee is given in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 at p. 199.

On the way from Delhi to Agra, sketches were taken at Fatehpur Sikri and Secundra. William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1833 the "Mosque of Futtypore Sicri near Agra built by the Emperor Akbar": and the frontispiece to the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 is "Futtypore Sicri": while at p. 110 there is another engraving from a drawing by William Daniell of a "Minor at Futtypore Sicri." Of Secundra there is a sketch (No. 9) in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*: "The gate leading to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar at Secundra, near Agra."

The party passed in due course through Muttra (Brindaban) "where Scindia had his camp." No mention is made of any interview with the chief, who was none other than Mahadaji Scindia. But William Daniell must have taken a sketch of him, for an engraving of such a portrait is to be found opposite page 212 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1834. The following account is given of the circumstances under which the drawing was made but it will be noticed that the place is not indicated:—

"The portrait of the Mahratta Chief which embellishes this volume is that of the celebrated Mahadaji Scindia, predecessor to the reigning Prince (his grandnephew and adopted son Daulat Rao). Mr. Daniell, shortly after his arrival in India, and not long before the death of the old warrior [which took place suddenly in 1794 at Wanowri near Poona] had the honour of an interview, during which he was also honoured with an oriental embrace. Availing himself of the opportunity, he made an admirable likeness of this remarkable man."

The story attaching to Zoffany's portrait of Mahadaji Scindia is well known, from the passage in Sir James Mackintosh's *Journal* of his visit to Poona in 1805:—

Near the monument which is being erected to the memory of the Mahadajee Scindia is a sorry hut where the ashes of this powerful Chieftain were deposited for a time, and there they may long lie undisturbed. It is a small pagoda where in the usual place of the principal deity, is a picture of Sindia by Zoffany, very like that in the Government House at Bombay. Before the picture lights are kept

constantly burning, and offerings daily made by the old servant of the Maharajah whose fidelity rather pleased me (30).

Another portrait by Thomas Wales hangs in the Town Hall at Bombay. Sir Charles Warre Malet, the son-in-law of Wales, was, by orders issued in January, 1785, despatched to Scindia's camp at Muttra to gain his consent to the appointment of a permanent Resident at Poona. The mission left Surat on March 15, 1785, reached Gwalior, by way of Ujjain on May 2, visited Agra, where Malet was lodged in the Taj, and then proceeded to Muttra (31).

According to the chronicler in the *Oriental Annual* (1835, p. 117) Muttra is noted for "an establishment of monkeys, supported by a bequest from Mahdaji Scindia." Thomas Twining (1794) also comments on the monkeys, and observes (p. 213) that all had "blue breeches" and that most of them were "immoderately fat."

Thomas Daniell's diploma picture in the Royal Academy gallery at Burlington House represents "Hindu Temples at Bindrabund" (Brindaban, or Muttra) and a reproduction of it figures as sketch No. 2 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*. These views are expressly stated to have been taken in the year 1789 and 1790. Thomas Daniell also exhibited "The Braman's Gaut at Mutura" at the Royal Academy in 1804, and William Daniell "The Mosque at Mutura built in the reign of the Emperor Aurungzebe" in 1834.

Between Muttra and Delhi, a halt was made at the "Chauter Serai, built by Asuf Khan, brother to the celebrated Noor Jehan"; for an engraving from a drawing by William Daniell will be found opposite page 106 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1835, where also a circumstantial account of the visit is given, though not on the upward journey. The place is now known as Chhata.

Delhi was reached in fourteen days after leaving Agra. The following sketches of Delhi are given in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*: No. 1, Eastern Gate of the Jumma Masjid; No. 3, Cotsea Bhaug (Kudisia Bagh); No. 7, Remains of an ancient building near Firoze Shah's Cotillah; No. 13, part of the Fort built by the Emperor Shere Shah; No. 23, the Jumma Masjid. The third series contains the following: No. 6, Mausoleum of Amir Khusroo; No. 18, a Baolee (open bath) near the old city; No. 19, view near the Mausoleum of the Emperor Humayoon. Sketch No. 24 in the sixth series represents the Cuttub Minar and Nos. 19 and 20 the Observatory of Rajah Jyasingh, now in ruins. Thomas Daniell exhibited two pictures of Delhi at the Royal Academy: "The Western Gate of Feroze Shah's Cotilla, Delhi" in 1807; and "The Entrance to the Palace of the Cotsea Begum at Delhi," in 1816. William Daniell showed "A Mausoleum of a Mahomedan poet built

(30) There is a portrait of Mahadaji Scindia at Government House, Poona which is said to be by Zoffany although it has also been attributed to an artist named Welsh (sic). It was copied by Mr. Cecil Burns for the Victoria Memorial Hall. The suggestion is that the Poona picture is the original and that a replica hangs in the temple. (G. C. Williamson "John Zoffany, R.A." p. 96).

(31) See Malet's Diary: quoted at pp. 485-526 of Forrest's Selections from Despatches, Mahratta Series, Vol. I.

of white marble at old Delhi" at the exhibition of 1797: "A caparisoned elephant, scene near Delhi" (now in the Soane Museum) in 1832: and "the Mosque of Sheik Nizam-ad-Deer (*sic*) Aoulea at Delhi" in 1835.

No less than fifteen engravings from sketches of Delhi by William Daniell appear in the *Oriental Annual*: two in the volume for 1834, one in 1835, two in 1836, six in 1837, four in 1838. (32.)

Modern Delhi, or Shahjehanabad, was founded, says Twining (p. 252) by Shah Jehan about 1631, and constructed chiefly with the materials of the old city. The circumference of the walls is stated by him to be about six miles.

The reigning Emperor at the time of the Daniells' visit was Shah Alam, who succeeded to a tinsel throne in 1759 on the death of Alamgir the second, the last real Mogul ruler of the House of Babar. He could not establish his authority in Delhi, which became the alternate prey of Afghans and Mahrattas until 1771 when the Mahrattas restored him to the city of his ancestors. In 1788 a Mahratta garrison permanently occupied the Palace, and Shah Alam remained a prisoner in the hands of Scindia until the British conquest under Lake in 1803 (33).

The next halting-place after Delhi was Anopshur (Anupshahr) now in the Bulandshahr district of the United Provinces. In 1773 the combined forces of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the British made Anopshur their rendezvous when opposing the Mahratta invasion of Rohilcund: and from that date the place was garrisoned by British troops until 1806 when they were removed to Meerut. The town was formerly the northern limit of traffic on the Ganges and consequently the seat of a factory of the East India Company. Twining (1794) describes Anopshur as "a military post in the Kingdom of Oudh," and relates an adventure which befell Colonel Robert Stuart, the officer in command of the detachment of Company's troops. The story was told to

(32) *Oriental Annual*: 1834: Title-page. The Kuttub Minar. (Old Delhi): p. 204. The Caparisoned Elephant (scene near Delhi): 1835: p. 92. Mausoleum of Sufter Jung (Delhi): 1836. p. 231 and p. 243. Tombs of Patan Chiefs, old Delhi: 1837: p. 95. Patan Tomb at Tughlakabad, (old Delhi): p. 161. State Prison (Selimgurh) Delhi: p. 175. Mausoleum of Tughlak Shah, Tughlakabad: p. 182. Bridge at old Delhi: p. 208. Shah-jehanabad (modern Delhi): p. 232. North Gate, old Delhi (from Jumma Musjeed): 1838: p. 15. Houses of Patan Chiefs at old Delhi: p. 30. Deserted Mansions at old Delhi: p. 92. Mausoleum of Humayoon at Delhi: p. 206. Mausoleum of Nizamooden Oulea, Delhi. A view of the "Kuttull (*sic*) Minor" to which the artist's name is not appended, is contained in "Twenty-Four views in Hindoostan: drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures painted by Mr. (Thomas) Daniell and Col. (Francis Swain) Ward" (London, January, 1805).

(33) Extract from the Farington Diary, June 29, 1807:—

Account published. In December last died at Delhi aged 78, Shaw Allum, the Emperor of Indostan, commonly called the great Mogul: who was restored by Genl. Lord Lake to his throne, a short time ago, after having his eyes put out and being imprisoned many years by the Mahrattas. He was a lineal descendant of Tamerlane. Akber Shaw, his second son, succeeds to the Throne.

Akbar the Second "reigned" from 1806 to 1837. His Successor, Bahadur Shah the Second was deposed in 1857, and died at Rangoon in 1862, at the age of 87.

him by Thomas Longcroft (34) an indigo-planter of artistic taste with whom he stayed at his factory at Jellowlee on his way to Futtu Ghur after a visit to General de Boigne at Coel (Aligarh). A gang of Pindaris made an unsuccessful attack on the factory, and on their way back passed through Anopshur where they met Colonel Stuart as he was taking his morning ride. They surrounded him and taking him prisoner carried him off with them. Eventually they crossed the Jumna to the north of Delhi where they were not far from the dominions of the Begum Sumroo. That lady ransomed the Colonel for a heavy sum and entertained him hospitably at Sirdhana until an opportunity offered for his safe return to Anopshur.

After nine days, the party which was escorted by a guard of fifty soldiers, arrived at Nujibabad (spelt "Negeibabad" in "Oriental Scenery") which lies at the entrance to the mountains. This town is now the headquarters of the tahsil of that name in the Bijnor district of the United Provinces. It was founded by Najib Khan or Najib-ud-daula, paymaster and for a time Wazir of the Mogul Empire who built a fort at Patthargarh, a mile to the East in 1755. From there he held the northern part of Rohilkund independently of the other Rohilla Chiefs. In 1772 the town was sacked by the Mahrattas and the body of Najib-ud-daula (who had died in 1770) was dug up and burned with many indignities. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Najibabad, the great grandson of Najib-ud-daula, revolted and when the place was recovered in 1858, the palace was destroyed. The Nawab was seized at Rampore and sentenced to transportation for life.

In the letter-press to the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery* "Negeibabad" (of which a view is given in sketch No. 13) is described as "one of the most opulent towns in the fertile district of Rohilkund and subject at this time to Fizula Cawn," the Rohilla Chief, who died in 1794 and with whose life the internal peace of the province came to an end (35).

It is a place of tolerable trade, chiefly carried on with the mountainous country in the vicinity, whence a variety of ores, gums and spices are brought and disposed of in the bazars of which there are several. This place though still considerable, has not wholly escaped the all-

(34) Thoms Longcroft came out to India with Zoffany about 1783. Some of his pen and ink sketches were presented to the India Office by Miss Louisa Twining, in 1903, among them being the Nawab's Palace at Lucknow, 1790, and the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, 1786. Others are in the British Museum: and four water-colours including one of the Taj are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(35) Faizulla Khan was the younger son of Ali Muhammad, who obtained the title of Nawab and the greater part of Rohilkund in 1719. When his father died, Faizulla took the Jagir of Rampore Kotara: and was excepted by Warren Hastings from the annexation which followed the first Rohilla War of 1774. At his death in 1793, the throne was usurped by his second son Ghulam Muhammad, against whom the Nawab of Oudh declared war, soliciting the aid of the Government of Calcutta who sent Sir Robert Abercromby with a force. The Rohillas were defeated at Dalmow, but not without considerable loss to the British (600 of whom were killed and wounded, including 14 officers). Rampore, the Capital, was occupied, and Golam Mahomed dethroned. The present Nawab of Rampore is descended from the eldest son of Faizulla Khan.

destroying hand of time. The ruined remains of many edifices of no vulgar style, formerly the dwellings of Rohilla families, discover strong signs of decay. These buildings, however, are Mahommedan, and the city itself is probably not very ancient.

William Daniell exhibited in the Royal Academy of 1828 a picture entitled "View near Nujibabad in Rohilcund: (part of the Himalaya mountains in the distance:)" an engraving of which by J. H. Kernot appears at page 62 of the "Oriental Annual" for 1835. In 1812, Thomas Daniell showed "A view near Nigibabad in Rohilcund, the Sewalic mountains appearing in the distance: an Indian on an elephant is endeavouring to cross a small bridge which the elephant refuses until he has examined its strength with his trunk."

While waiting for permission from the Raja of Serinagur (Srinagar) to enter his territory, the party visited Hurdwar which is about 30 miles from Nujibabad. The great object of attraction at this famous place of pilgrimage is the bathing ghat called Hari-ka-chara or Hari-ka-pairi (Vishnu's footprint) with the adjoining temple of Gangadwara. A stone on the wall of the ghat bears the footmark which is the subject of special reverence. Pilgrims struggle to enter the pool and stringent police regulations have been found necessary. In 1818, 430 persons including some sepoy on guard, lost their lives in the press, and the ghat was enlarged. The great assemblage takes place on the first day of the month of Baisakh, the commencement of the Hindu solar year when the sun enters Aries. Every twelfth year the planet Jupiter is in the sign Aquarius (Kumbh) at the time, and the occasion is regarded as one of peculiar sanctity, the fair being called the Kumbh Mela. In 1791 the attendance of pilgrims was estimated at 2½ millions, but this is probably an exaggeration. In 1903 on the bathing day of the Kumbh Mela about 400,000 persons were present. Riots and bloody fights were common in early days. In 1760 the rival mobs of Bairagis (Vaishnava ascetics) and Sannyasis (followers of Siva) had a long battle in which 1,800 Bairagis are said to have been left on the field.

There is no sketch of Hurdwar in "Oriental Scenery": but a picture by William Daniell of "The Principal Gaut at Hurdwar" was engraved for the "Oriental Annual" for 1834 (p. 242). The original was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1835, and is now in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore. Thomas Daniell also painted a picture of "The Sacred Tree of the Hindoos which contains an ancient Temple and Idol of Mahadeva near the Hurduwar." This was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1821.

THE GARHWAL COUNTRY.

Permission having been received from the Rajah, the party entered the mountains by the Coaduwar Gaut. The village which gives its name to the pass is the modern Kotdwara and lies at the foot of the hills on one of the chief trade-routes between Garhwal and the plains of Rohilcund. It is the most important mart of which is now known as British Garhwal, and the principal centre of commercial exchange with Tibet. A View of the Ghat is numbered

14 in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery": and the letter press is as follows:

This view represents the principal pass leading from the Rohilla district into the mountainous country of Serinagur. Those romantic and lofty regions never having been explored by European adventurers, any attempt to a stranger to penetrate as far as the city of Serinagur by this route was deemed a hazardous enterprise, if not an absolutely impracticable one. But by a previous arrangement with the Raja of the Capital, the difficulties to it that remained were chiefly occasioned by the surface of the country which, though truly formidable, were calculated to excite rather than discourage the curiosity of those who take delight in observing nature under every variety of aspect: and more especially in situations where she is so seldom seen, except by those who cannot appreciate her beauties.

This view was taken in April 1789, immediately previous to the author's passing into the mountains.

The country in which the Daniells had now penetrated is known in these days as Garhwal and is the western district of the Kumaon division of the United Provinces. The Raja at the time of their visit was Parduman Sah (the "Purdoo Maan Saa" of "Oriental Scenery"). His father Lalat Sah had in 1779 defeated the usurper who was ruling in the adjoining State of Kumaon: and Parduman had for a time held both Garhwal and Kumaon, but had now retired to his own dominions. The Gurkhas conquered Almora (the chief town of Kumaon) in 1789 and made the attack on Garhwal which is mentioned by William Daniell in the letter to his mother: but withdrew owing to trouble with the Chinese in Tibet. (36) It was not until 1803 that they finally overran Garhwal and took Dehra Dun. Parduman Sah fled to the plains and collected a force, but perished near Dehra with most of his Garhwali retainers in 1804. The Gurkha rule were severe, and when the British captured Almora in 1815 they were welcomed by the hillmen. The present Raja of Tehri-Garhwal which lies to the north of British Garhwal, is descended from Sudarshan Sah, the son of Parduman Sah, to whom the State was made over by the British at the close of the campaign. It contains 2,450 villages but no town.

The following description of Raja Parduman Sah is given in the letter-press at the end of the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery;":

Raja Purdoo Maan Saa, its present Chief, is a man of high caste, and much beloved by his people: of whom, nevertheless, he is but a feeble protector: like many of the minor sovereigns of our own hemisphere, whose sceptres of straw, the gracious boon, perhaps, of some colossal power, command no respect and impart no authority.

(36) Thomas Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1824 "a view of the Serinagur mountains with the Snowy mountains in the distance taken during the warfare between the Raja of Serinagur and the Doutie Raja in the year 1792" (sic). At the Academy of 1800 he had already shown "The Rope bridge at Serinagur, in the Sevalic mountains taken in the year 1789 during the evacuation of the city in consequence of the approach of a large army from Almorah."

At closer picture is painted in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835 (p. 26):—

Shortly after our arrival at Serinagur we were introduced to the Rajah. We found him an intelligent person, courteous in his manners, and of easy unembarrassed address. His countenance indicated no particular trait of character, yet was by no means deficient in intelligence. His manners inspired confidence, and he received us with an undissembled welcome. He was frank and free though somewhat effeminate, giving great attention to his dress which was evidently arranged with much care. He wore large gold bangles on his wrists, while his fingers were covered with rings of different shapes and weight, composed of the same metal.

The town of Serinagur (Srinagar) is now in the British district of Garhwal. It is situated on the left bank of the river Alucnindra (Alaknanda) at an elevation of 1706 feet above sea level in latitude $30^{\circ} 13'$ N. and longitude $78^{\circ} 46'$ E. The old town was founded in the 17th century, but was washed away, along with the Saivite temple of Kamaleshwar, by the flood caused by the bursting of the Gohna Lake in 1894: and a new town was built on a higher site. The place owes its importance to the fact that one of the great pilgrim-routes to Kedarnath and Badrinath runs from Hurdwar, up the course of the river Alaknanda by way of Srinagar and Rudraprayag. (37).

Walter Hamilton, in his "Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan and the adjoining countries" (2 Vols. 4to London, 1820) gives the following account of Srinagar :

It occupies nearly the centre of the valley and is in length about three-quarters of a mile but much less in breadth, its form being elliptical. The houses are of stone roughly and irregularly put together with common earth, generally raised to a second floor, and all covered with slates. They are so crowded together as to leave little more space for the streets than is sufficient for two persons to pass. The house of the former Rajahs is in the middle of the town and is the largest, being raised to a fourth story and built of granite. The ground floors of the houses are used as shops, and the upper storeys for the accommodation of the family. The encroachments of the [river] Alacananda, the earthquake of 1803, and the Goorka invasion, all combined to hasten the decay of the town which when taken possession of by the British in 1815, was in a very ruinous condition. The inhabitants consist chiefly of descendants of emigrants from the low countries, and the leading persons are the agents of the banking-houses at Nujibabad and the Dooab who are employed in the sale and exchange of merchandise and coins. Formerly these persons

(37) Daniell in *Oriental Scenery* (4th series) says that "Serinagur is in latitude 31 deg. N. longitude 78 deg. W." and is distant from Cape Comorin about 2,500 miles." He does not add (and probably did not know) that the priests at the shrines of Kedarnath and Badrinath are Nambudri Brahmans, from far-off Malabar,



THE ROPE BRIDGE AT SERINAGUR.

By WILLIAM DANIELL, R.A.

(From the "Oriental Annual" for 1838).

resided here only eight months in the year, quitting the hills and returning to their homes at the commencement of the rainy season.

Of the inhabitants we get the following account in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835: (p. 28):

The inhabitants of Serinagur appeared to be a mixed race, exhibiting in their features the blended lineaments of Highlander, Lowlander, Patan, Tartar, Chinese, and Hindoo: and often showing the especial peculiarities of these several races. Their complexions are swarthy, though in a slight degree, and they have very little beard: yet when they possess more than the usual superfluity, it is a good deal prized by them. They are on the whole a mild inoffensive race, and though not deficient in courage to make resistance when attacked, they have displayed very little ingenuity in devising the most effectual means of defence, considering the advantages which their mountains afford them.

It is noticeable that no mention is made in the letter to the rope-bridge below Srinagar of which a representation is given in sketch No. 23 of the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery" and which forms also the subject of an engraving by William Daniell in the "Oriental Annual" for 1838 (p. 213). There are long accounts of the bridge in both volumes. In "Oriental Scenery" we are told that the bridge is 240 feet in length, and "so simple" in contrivance "that it may be soon erected and soon removed."

On each side of the river two strong and lofty poles are fixed in the ground, and kept together with transverse pieces at their upper ends, over which large ropes, made fast to the rocks or ground, are stretched and extended from side to side. From the bottom of these upright poles are carried other ropes, which are drawn towards the upper ones by a lacing of cords, while flat pieces of bamboo are so fastened to the lower cords as to form a tolerably commodious footway.

The passage in the "Oriental Annual" (1838, p. 213) runs as follows:

The most striking object exhibited to the traveller after he quits Hurdwar is a rope bridge which crosses the river Alacananda a short distance below Serinagur. The river is crossed by no less than three of these bridges between Serinagur and Hurdwar—at the former place, at Gangoutri, and at Deo Prayag (Deo Prayag). Some of these rope-bridges have been erected last year by Mr. C. Shakspear, as will appear from Bishop Heber's Journal. (38).

(38) One crossed a torrent near Benares of a hundred and sixty feet span: and another with a span of 320 feet was constructed over the river Caramnassa in Behar "at the expense of Ramchunder Narain." (Heber). There is a graphic picture of a man "crossing the river Touse" by one of these rope-bridges in James Baillie Fraser's "Views in the Himalaya Mountains" (1820).

There is another account of the rope-bridge in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835 (p. 23) in which full scope is allowed to the writer's love of picturesque detail:

Early in the afternoon we came to a rope-bridge which it was necessary to cross in order to save a circuit of several miles. The bridge consisted simply of two ropes of about an inch and a half in diameter made of twisted creepers, eighteen inches apart, passed through a hoop and secured on either side of the stream by strong bamboos driven firmly into the earth parallel to each other. The passenger places himself between the parallel ropes within the hoop, on the lower rim of which he is seated and holding a rope in either hand pulls himself across. To the hillmen this is a sufficiently easy process and they perform it without the slightest apprehension: but to any one who has never before trusted himself upon such an equivocal machine, over a deep and impetuous torrent at an elevation of from 20 to 100 feet, it is a matter of no ordinary peril. Nothing can be well conceived more appalling than, hanging over the tremendous abyss suspended by two small ropes and a hoop, to cast the eye down upon the hissing flood beneath, tossed and agitated into innumerable whirlpools by the narrowness and asperity of the channel, the whole machine fearfully vibrating and threatening to give way at every impulse of the wind, which frequently whistles over the trembling passenger with most menacing violence.

THE RETURN.

The party returned to the plains, as they had entered the hills, by the Coaduwar (Kotdwara) Ghat, and down the "Koah-nullah," a rocky torrent which figures in sketch 15 of the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery."

A few days' rest must have been taken at Nujibabad: and they then made their way to Lucknow after "a circuitous visit" to a place which is unfortunately left blank in Farington's transcript. What was it? It is suggested that the route taken was, by way of Chandpore, Amroha (Amrooah), Sumbul and Bissowlee to Pillibeat (Pilibhit). All these places were undoubtedly visited by the Daniells, for sketches were taken at each of them. We have an Academy picture by Thomas Daniell in 1807: "Gate of Serai at Chandpore in the Rohilla district": an earlier one in 1799, "Mahomedan Buildings at Bissowlee in Rohilcund": and a third in 1813. "The Eedgah, a place designed for the performance of solemn festivals by the professors of the Mahomedan religion, near Amrooah in the Rohilla district." Of Babar's tomb at Sumbul, there is an engraving of a drawing by William Daniell in the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 (p. 3). Sketch No. 10 in the third series of "Oriental Scenery" represents the "Gate of a Mosque built

by Hafez Ramut at Pillibhit," and William Daniell exhibited a picture on the same subject at the Royal Academy of 1798. (39).

From Pilibhit the party retraced their steps westward and proceeded across country to Futti Ghur, for we know from the *Calcutta Gazette* that they arrived there in June 1789. Cawnpore would next be reached by river and then the route lay by road eastwards to Lucknow.

Sketch No. 16 of the third series of "Oriental Scenery" represents "The Palace of Nawaub Sujah Dowla at Lucknow taken (in 1790) from the opposite bank of the river Goomty." Part of the palace (the Machhi Bhawan, now demolished) is shown on the left and "the new palace of the present Nawaub Asoph-ul-Dowla is seen along the water's edge extending a considerable way up the river." This is the Imambara of which the following account is given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835 at p. 129.

The Imaum Barrah completed in the year 1784 by Asoph-ud-Dowlah is considered inferior only to the edifices erected by the Mahomedan Emperors. The Architecture is loaded though not crowded with ornament. This building contains a single room 167 feet long and broad in proportion. There is one remarkable feature in this structure: no wood has been employed in its crection, it being entirely of brick.

"During the Presidency of Mr. Hastings," we read further, "Lucknow was, perhaps next to Benares, the richest and most populous city of Hindostan."

An original oil-painting of "the Imambara of Asaf-ud-daula" by the younger Daniell was acquired by Lord Curzon of Kedleston for the Victoria Memorial Hall collection; and engravings of the following sketches by the same artist are given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835: p. 128, The Moorpunkee, Lucknow (the Nabob on the river Goomtee in his moorpunkey or state barge) (40); P. 137, a mausoleum at Lucknow (tomb of a female

(39) Hafiz Rahamat Khan was the Rohilla leader who came into collision with Warren Hsatings and was killed in action in 1774. His descendant Khan Bahadur Khan was proclaimed Nawab or Viceroy by the mutinous sepoy after a massacre of Europeans at Bareilly in 1857. Nearly a year elapsed before British authority could be restored. Khan Bahadur escaped into Nepal, but was surrendered by the Nepalese Government in 1860 and hanged at Bareilly. Pilibhit was Hafiz Rahamat's favourite place of residence. Near the town of Bisauli is the tomb of Danda Khan, Hafiz Rahamat's lieutenant, who built a fort here about 1750.

(40) "This boat derives its name from the figure ornamenting the bow which is a peacock: mour signifies a peacock and punkee wings, indicating the swiftness of its progress: and these boats certainly are remarkable for their speed . . . (They are) extremely long and light in form, and the head rises greatly above the stern which latter terminates in a low point without the slightest ornament. The head projects forward with a slight curve, and is at least ten feet from the surface of the water, ending in the body of a peacock with the wings extended. Near this gay ornament is a position sufficiently spacious to contain 10 or 12 persons. The boat is manned with from 20 to 40 rowers who use short elliptical paddles, with which they propel forward with amazing swiftness, timing their strokes by a measured but not unmusical chant. Near the pavilion is a raised platform upon which a man dances for the amusement of the company, flourishing a chowry over

relative of Asaf-ud-daula); P. 172, View in the garden of the palace at Lucknow. 1838: p. 148. "Elephants fighting" (with the Nawab and his Court as spectators "looking on from the balcony of a bungalow.")

William Daniell concludes his letter to his mother with a characteristic reference to Asaf-ud-daula's reluctance to remunerate the European artists whom he encouraged to practise their profession at Lucknow. Thomas Daniell's unhappy experience in this respect was shared by at least two others. Dr. G. C. Williamson in his book on Zoffany (London 1920) quotes from two letters of Claude Martin which were discovered in the Royal Academy Library. In the second, which is dated March 11, 1789, and written to Ozias Humphry who was then in London, Martin says that Zoffany who had taken his passage for Europe in an Italian ship, the "Grande Duchesse," had not yet been paid one penny for the work he has done for the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, adding that this eastern potentate does not like paying Europeans and if one could see his heart, it would be found "loaded with dark and sinister intentions." Zoffany was eventually paid, having persuaded the Resident to endorse his account against the Nawab and guarantee payment: but Humphry who had painted miniatures of Asaf-ud-daula and his minister, Hasan Raza Khan, never got his money. (41). Zoffany's portraits of these two eminent personages now hang in the India Office. They bear the following inscription on the back of the canvas:

John Zoffany painted this picture at Lucknow A.D. 1784 by order of His Highness the Nabob Vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah, (or, by desire of Hussein Reza Caun, Nabob Suffraz-ul-Dowlah) who gave it to his servant (or friend) Francis Baladon Thomas.

Thomas was a Surgeon-Major on the Bengal Establishment and Residency Surgeon at Lucknow. He was dismissed the Service in 1785.

Zoffany was in Lucknow at the time of the Daniells' visit, and collaborated with Thomas Daniell in at least one composition. Among the nineteen pictures by Zoffany which were owned by Claude Martin, and were sold by the auctioneer Quieros on December 29, 1801 was "a picture of General Martin's house painted by Daniell and Zoffany."

When the Daniells left Lucknow, their next objective must have been Fyzabad the ancient capital of Oudh, on the Gogra, and the ruined city of Oud (Ajudhia) on the opposite bank of the river. William Daniell exhibited a

"his head. He acts as a sort of fogleman for by his movements the action of the paddles "is governed." (*Oriental Annual*, 1835, p. 128).

(41) Humphry apparently insisted upon being paid on his own terms, or not at all. See the following entry in the Farington Diary:

May 7th, 1809.—Humphry has talked to Paine of £10,000 having been offered Him for his claim in India. Paine advised Him to take it on which Humphry flew into a passion and asked Him how he could pretend to judge His affairs.

From an entry in the previous year—June 19, 1808—we learn that Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General of Bengal, was another sufferer. In recording his death, Farington notes: "He pined over the loss of £20,000 owing to Him by the Nabob of Oude, whose debts the East India Company refused to pay."

“view of Fyzabad” at the Royal Academy of 1795: and sketch No. 3 of the third series of *Oriental Scenery* is the “Gate of the Loll Bhaug at Fyzabad (85 miles east of Lucknow):” As regards Ajudhia we have an Academy picture by Thomas Daniell in 1802: “Ruins, etc. at Oud on the river Ganges” (sic): and an engraving in the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 (p. 3) from a drawing by William Daniell of a “Part of Oud on the river Гоґра.” (42).

The route then lay to Juanpore (Jaunpur) which is situated on the Gumbi at the junction of roads from Allahabad, Fyzabad, Azamgarh, Benares and Mirzapur. A stay of some duration must have been made, for many sketches were taken. The Atoulah mosque, which was built by Ibrahim Shah and completed in 1408, is the “Mosque at Juanpore” represented in a picture by William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1796. Sketch No. 9 in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* bears the same title: and “Interior of a Mosque, Juanpore” is the subject of the frontispiece to the *Oriental Annual* for 1835. Thomas Daniell exhibited an “N. W. view of the Fort at Juanpore” at the Academy in 1798, and a “View near Juanpore” in 1804. In 1836 William Daniell sent to the Academy “Part of the Fortress of Juanpore and the river Goomty” and in 1838 there was shown, posthumously, “A Nautch Girl exhibiting before a Man of Rank; a scene at Juanpore.” Finally No. 18 of the “Twenty-Five views of Hindustan,” is a sketch by Thomas Daniell of “The Bridge at Juanpore, Bengal.”

From Juanpore, the travellers returned to Benares; and undertook, according to the writer in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835, an expedition into Behar.

THE EXCURSION INTO BEHAR.

Ample corroboration, both pictorial and chronological, is to be had of this expedition. The route ran first to Bidzee Gur (Bijaigarh) which lies about 55 miles due south of Benares. There is no sketch in *Oriental Scenery* of this forgotten fortress on the Kaimur hills, which was once the stronghold of Cheyt Singh: but Thomas Daniell exhibited two pictures of Bidzee Gur at the Royal Academy, the first in 1809 and the other in 1811.

From Bidzee Gur (which was also visited by William Hodges after the insurrection at Benares in 1781 and during the siege of the fortress by Major Popham) an excursion must have been made down the course of the Soane to Agouree (Agori Khas) about 15 miles to the westward. Sketch No. 19 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents “Hindoo Temples at Agouree on the river Soane”: and William Daniell exhibited a picture of “The Fort of Agouree” at the Royal Academy of 1837. The spot appears to be identical with “Hurgowree” or “Hurra Gowree” on the Soane, which is the subject of a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1809 and again at the British Institution in 1812. The title of the picture is thus given in the second instance: “A sacred grove of the Hindoos. Taken near the

(42) William Hodges exhibited a “view of part of the ruins of the city of Owd” at the Royal Academy of 1785.

temple of Hurgowree, on the river Soane in the province of Bahar, East Indies. In this view the Bhurr, or banian tree, a species of fig, is made conspicuous." The description of the Academy picture is as follows: "Hurra Gowree, a place of great sanctity with the Hindoos near Bidzee Gur, a hill fort of the district of Benares."

The route now lay (according to the *Oriental Annual* for 1835, p. 205) from Bidzee Gur across the Eckpouah Ghaut, described by Hodges (*Travels in India*, p. 85) as "a difficult and rocky pass," two miles from the Fort. Descending the hill, on the way to Sasseram a halt was made, and sketches taken, at Chainpur near which, seven miles south-west of Bhabua, is the temple at Mandeswari. This is the oldest Hindu monument in the Shahabad district, and dates from 635 A.D. There are two drawings of it in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* ("Antiquities of India"): representing the exterior (No. 13) and the interior (No. 16). Sketch No. 15 in the same series represents the "Exterior of an Eedgah near Chynpore." This may form part of the Jama Masjid (1668 A.D.) at Chainpur: but the famous Idgah built in the time of Shah Jehan 1633 A.D.) is at Sasseram, and is near Sher Shah's tomb. Thomas Daniell exhibited a "View in the Cheynpore district" at the Royal Academy of 1806: and at the Academy of 1816 a picture with the following peculiar and cumbrous title: "An Indian with his cattle, etc. having ascended in safety a dangerous pass in the mountains returns thanks to Ganesa the guardian of the Gauts: a scene in the Chrympore (*sic*) district." The "mountains" are the Kaimur hills, which form the southern boundary of the Shahabad district, and vary in elevation from 1,000 feet above sea level to 1,490 feet (at Rohtasgarh). "Rising abruptly from the plains their sides present sheer precipices" and "the escarpments are everywhere lofty and bold" (Shahabad District Gazetteer, p. 2). The waterfall of "Dhuah Koondie in the neighbourhood of Sasseram," which supplies the subject for sketch No. 11 in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*, is in this hilly region. "After a clear drop of two to six hundred feet, the water plashes into a deep pool, on leaving which it runs along a channel obstructed through several miles of its course by huge masses of rock."

According to the account given of the up-river journey in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 122) a visit was paid on that occasion "after passing Buxar fort" to Sasseram, which is about thirty miles distant. A second visit was now paid (O. A. 1835 p. 206) and we are told that "in the neighbourhood of Sasseram, where we halted a day, we found many fine subjects for the pencil." None of the sketches taken at Sasseram itself are reproduced in *Oriental Scenery*. But Thomas Daniell exhibited the "Mausoleum of Sher Shah" at the Royal Academy of 1810, and there is an engraving in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 124) of a drawing by William Daniell of the tomb. At the Academy of 1811 Thomas Daniell exhibited the "Ruins of the Nourutun—part of the Palace at Sasseram": and one of William Daniell's Academy pictures in 1832 was "an Imaumbarrah or mausoleum of a Mahomedan high priest at Sasseram." This is probably the Sasaram Khankah, or religious

endowment, which consists of a mosque and a number of tombs. It was founded by Sheikh Kabir Darwesh about 1717 A.D.

From Sassaram excursions were made to Shere Gur (Shergarh) a ruined hill-fort, twenty miles to the south-west, founded by the Emperor Shere Shah, after his capture of Rohtasgarh in 1539 A.D. Thomas Daniell showed two "Views near Shere Gur" at the Academy, the first in 1801 and the second in 1823. Rohtasgarh which was also visited was a favourite subject with both the Daniells. It supplied the younger with the material for three Academy pictures: "Ruins of Part of the Palace," 1799. "A scene at Rotas Gur," 1832: "Part of the Fort at Rotas Gur," 1837. In the first series of *Oriental Scenery* (views taken in 1789 and 1790) are no less than four sketches: No. 1, "Raje Gaut, the principal road up to Rotas Gur": No. 2, "ancient Temple in the fort of Rotas": and No. 20, "Part of Rotas Gur." "Ruins in Rotas Gur" are also represented in sketch No. 2 of the third series: and the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 210) has an engraving from a drawing by William Daniell of the "Kutwhuttea Gate, Rotas Gur." This is the Kathautiya gate, at the narrow neck joining Rohtas to the table land. The ascent from Akbarpur is over dry hills of limestone, covered with brushwood, to a crest on which are the first defences: and thence up a sandstone cliff, cut in places into rough steps, which lead from ledge to ledge, guarded by walls and a solid masonry arch.

Retracing their steps the travellers next crossed the Soane at Dehri and proceeded to Muddunpore (Madanpur) now a police outpost in the Gaya district on the Grand Trunk Road between Sherghati and Aurangabad. Mention is made in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 of the visit to this place, and an engraving of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Hindoo Temple at Muddunpore" is given opposite to p. 222. So also sketch No. 15 of the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* ("Antiquities of India") published in 1799 and stated to consist of views "taken in 1790 and 1793" presents the "interior of a temple near Muddunpore," whose "situation is so reclude that it might have been expected the Hindoos here would have escaped the insolence of Mahomedan usurpation, but it happened otherwise." The temple in question is at Umga or Munga, a village situated eight miles east of Deo and close to Madanpur. A modern chronicles records: "It is an ancient stone temple picturesquely situated on the western slope of the hill and overlooking the country for many miles. The height of the temple is about 60 feet and it is built entirely of square granite blocks without cement. A remarkable feature is the presence of short Arabic inscriptions over the entrance doorway engraved by the Muhammadans who once used the shrine as a mosque." (O'Malley, *Gaya Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 240). At Deo, six miles south-east of Aurangabad, is another temple dedicated to the Sun (Suraj Mandir) of which two sketches (No. 5 and No. 6) are given in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery*. These represent the exterior and the interior of the temple respectively. According to Daniell, the shrine is "dedicated to Seeva."

From Madanpur and Deo the road led to Gaya. Sketch No. 15 of the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents the "sacred Tree at Gyah" and sketch No. 13 of the third series is "a view of Gyah." The "Bode Gyah" temple figures opposite page 232 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1835.

Boat was taken at Patna : and some sort of stay must have been made on the downward journey at Bhagalpur, for William Daniell's letter to his mother is written from that place on July 30, 1790. On the voyage back to Calcutta, a halt was called to visit the ruins of Gour, now in Malda district. Sketch No. 4 of the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "Ruins at the ancient city of Gour, formerly on the banks of the Ganges" : and there is another sketch (No. 23) in the sixth series : "a Minor at Gour." Thomas Daniell's last Academy picture (1828) was "The Gate of the Cutwal in the Fort of the ancient city of Gour on the river Ganges, Bengal" : and there is an engraving in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 244) of a drawing of the same subject by William Daniell : "The Kutwallee Gate, Gour." In the Davis portfolio in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection is also a sketch of "Gaur" (No. 7.)

LATER TRAVELS.

It would seem, from two of the illustrations to "A Picturesque Voyage of India by way of China" (published in London in 1810) that on their return to Calcutta, a trip was made to the Sunderbunds. The two sketches in question represent "Cucrahuttee" and "Gangwaughcolly" (Geonkhali), the former being an obscure village to the south-east of the latter : and graphic descriptions are given of jungle scenery. We have also "A scene in the Sunderbunds" exhibited by William Daniell at the Academy in 1835 : and "The Bore rushing up the Hoogly" shown at the Academy in 1836 and engraved for the *Oriental Annual* of 1838 (p. 234).

Uncle and nephew must have gone across to Western India about this period, (probably by sea) for three views of Bombay by William Daniell are to be seen in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, and reproductions of them are given in Mr. Douglas Dewar's "Bygone Days in India." These are : 1. View of Bombay about 1790, seen from Cumballa Hill; 2 View of Bombay about 1790, seen from the Harbour; and 3. A picture of Bombay as it was about 1790. There are also two aquatint engravings by William Daniell to be found in Captain R. M. Grindlay's "Scenery, Costumes, and Architecture chiefly on the western side of India," published in 1826, and again in an enlarged format in 1830. One is of Dowlutabad, the fortress of Deogiri, in the Aurangabad district, in the Deccan, and the other is a morning view from Callian (Kalyan near Bombay). Both are however stated to be drawn by Daniell from sketches taken by Grindlay.

The fifth and sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* published in 1804 and 1799, and otherwise known as "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountain of Ellora, near Aurungabad in the Decan" and "Antiquities of India," relate, likewise, to Western India. The first named consists of "Twenty-Four Views engraved from the drawings of James Wales by and under the direction of

Thomas Daniell." It is dedicated to Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart, "late the British Resident at Poonah." Wales was the father-in-law of Malet and died at Thana in November, 1795 while engaged on a series of sketches of the Elephanta sculptures (43).

It was from sketches by Wales that Thomas Daniell obtained the material for his well-known picture of "Sir C. W. Malet, Bart, the British Resident at Poonah in the year 1790 concluding a treaty in the Durbar with Souac Madarow (Sawai Madho Rao) the peshwah or prince of the Mahratta Empire." This was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1805. It now hangs in the entrance hall of Government House, Ganeshkhind, and has been described as unrivalled in Oriental grouping, character and costume (44). A mezzotint by Charles Turner may be seen in the Political Secretary's Room at the India Office.

The date 1790 occurs also in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery*, the views in which are "engraved from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A., and F.S.A., by Himself and William Daniell" and stated to have been "taken in the year 1790 and 1793." Six of these sketches relate to excavations on the island of Salsette, and Elephanta: and in the letter-press to sketch No. 7 ("The entrance to the Elephanta cave") the following definite statement is made: "According to the measurement of Mr. William Daniell, the author's nephew, who accompanied him on all his excursions in India, its dimensions are 130 feet in length, 110 in breadth, 16 in height."

An excursion to Muscat in Arabia seems to have been undertaken about this time also, for both Thomas and William Daniell exhibited several pictures of that place at the Royal Academy (45).

(43) The portraits of Nana Farnavis and Mahadaji Scindia which hang in the Bombay Town Hall, are painted by Wales: and the Royal Asiatic Society possesses a picture by him representing the Peshwa (Madho Rao the Second) and Nana Farnavis, with two attendants. This picture was presented to the Society in 1854 by the wife of General Robinson, and must have been "looted," for it had been taken off the stretcher and folded in four, with the result that the right eye of the Peshwa has had to be repainted.

(44) Some of the sketches made by Wales for this picture must have been acquired by Sir Charles Malet, who was appointed Resident at Poona in 1785 and was created a baronet in 1791 in recognition of his success in negotiating the treaty which was between the Company, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, against Tippoo Sultan. In March 1920, Sir Harry Malet, the present baronet, offered for sale at Sotheby's a series of seven sketches representing (as the inscriptions upon them show), "Mahadowjee Scindia," "Bhyroo Pundit," translator to the Resident, "Souae Madara Peshwa" (Sawai Madho Rao Peshwa), "Noor Al Deen Hussein Khan," probably the Peshwa's munshi, "Ballajee Pundit Nanna Furnavese," Daniel Seton, a Bombay civilian who became chief at Surat in 1800 and died there in 1803 (in Mahomedan dress, and bearing an uncanny resemblance to the familiar portrait of the Abbé Dubois) and, lastly, "Beebee Ambar Kooer Amabilis Fidelis," a Rajput lady, companion of Sir Charles Malet in India. The set is now the property of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., of the Madras Civil Service.

(45) Thomas Daniell: The Harbour of Muscat in Arabia, 1806: The Fort of Mutura near Muscat, 1807: The Entrance from the eastward of the Harbour of Muscat in Arabia, 1814. William Daniell: Muscat in the Persian Gulph, 1831: General View of the Harbour of Muscat on the coast of Omar, Arabia, in the Persian Gulph, 1835. The two latter pictures are reproduced in the *Oriental Annual* for 1836 (frontispiece and on page 191).

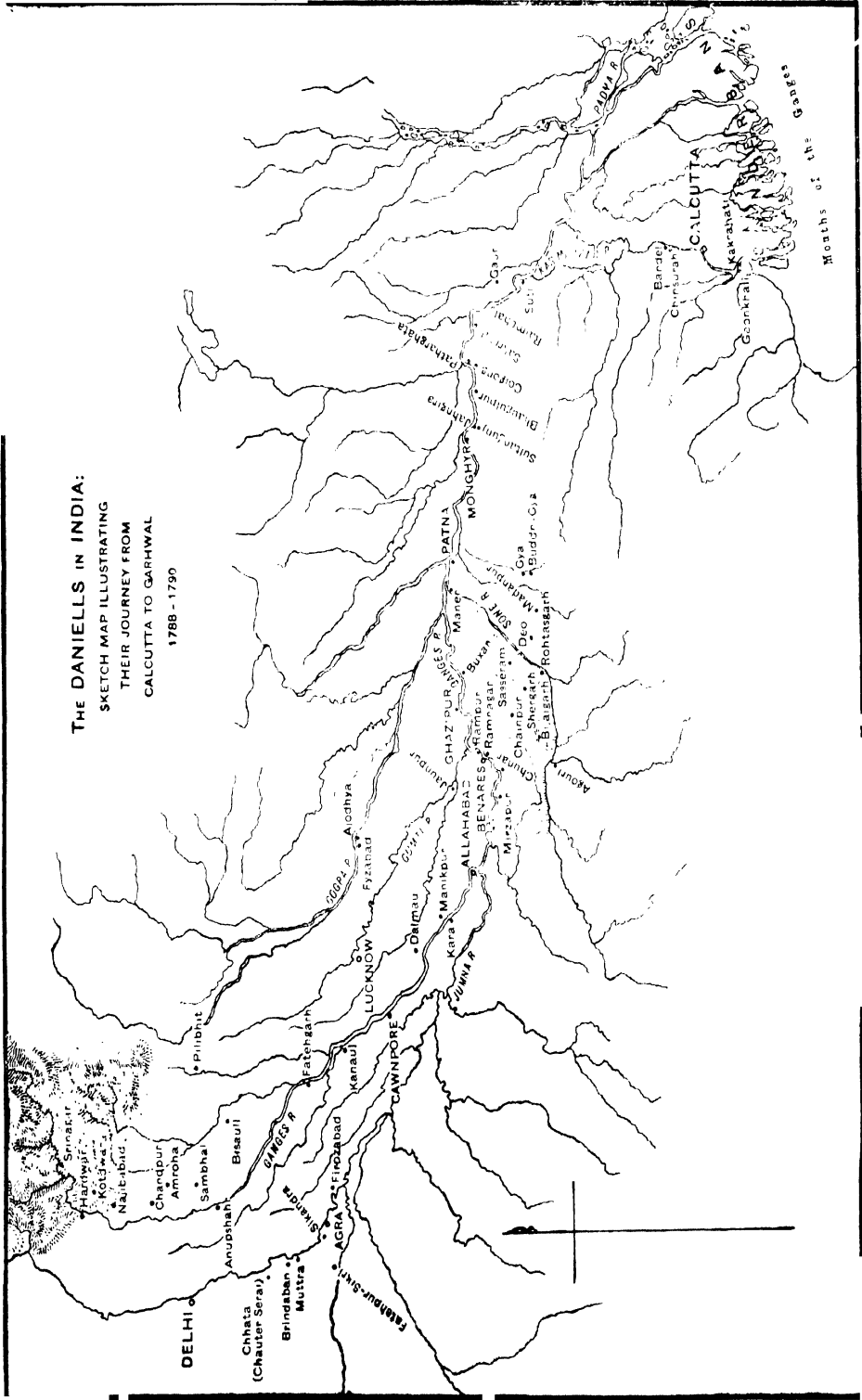
Later on, they must have found their way to Southern India. It is clear, as has already been pointed out, from references in *Oriental Scenery* that they were in the Madras Presidency from June 1792, to the beginning of 1793, when they must have embarked for China. William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy several pictures which were based upon sketches taken either at the Company's factory at Canton, or on the way thither (46). His uncle confined himself to Indian subjects, with the exception of four pictures of Sezincote, the seat in Gloucestershire of Sir Charles Cockerell, an Anglo-Indian baronet, which he showed at the Academy of 1819.

The more we reflect upon the conditions of travel in the East at the close of the eighteenth century, the more we are bound to be struck by the courage and endurance displayed by Thomas Daniell and his young nephew who was a boy of fourteen when he left England with his uncle in 1783. It is the fashion in some quarters to decry their ability as artists and to describe their election in the Royal Academy as "an honour which will always remain one of the enigmas of the early days of the Institution" (Hodgson and Eaton: "The Royal Academy and its Members," p. 88). But to all those who know India their drawings of Indian scenes will always appeal, not only for their charm, but also for the fidelity of their delineation.

H. E. A. COTTON.

(46) View of the Straits of Sunda taken from Anjere Point in the Island of Java, 1813: The "Hythe" East Indiaman off Anjere Point, Island of Java, in the Straits of Sunda, 1823 (a picture evidently painted for Mr. Stewart Marjoribanks, the owner of the ship, which sailed for China from the Downs on April 21, 1821, and returned to moorings on April 22, 1823): The Watering-place at Anjere Point in the Island of Java: the homeward bound China fleet in 1793 at anchor in the Straits of Sunda under the command of Sir Erasmus Gore in the "Lion" man of war, 1836. Of China itself we have the following Academy pictures by William Daniell: 1806 and 1808. The European Factories at Canton in China (of one of these, a picture executed in the minutest detail, a charming aquatint reproduction is given in the "Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China"): 1810: Ten sketches of the process of cultivating Tea in China and preparing leaves for exportation. William Daniell also exhibited the two following pictures at the British Institution: A "view in the Straits of Sunda, the island of Cracatoa in the distance" in 1815, probably a replica of the Academy picture of 1813: and "A Chinese lady of the province of Ningpo" in 1836.

THE DANIELLS IN INDIA:
SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING
THEIR JOURNEY FROM
CALCUTTA TO GARHWAL
1788 - 1790



Appendix.

A.—SUGGESTED ITINERARY OF THE DANIELLS IN BENGAL AND UPPER INDIA, 1788—1790.

REFERENCES :—

- I. D., R. A.—Picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy.
W. D., R. A.—Picture exhibited by William Daniell at the Royal Academy.
B. I.—Picture exhibited at the British Institution.
O. S.—Oriental Scenery : First Series, views taken in the years 1789 and 1790 :
Fourth Series, views taken in 1789 : Sixth Series, views taken
in 1790.
O. A.—Oriental Annual, 1834-38 : Engravings from drawings by William
Daniell.
P. V.—Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China : 1810.
25 Views—"Twenty-five Views of Hindustan drawn by W. Orme from the
original pictures by Mr. (Thomas) Daniell and Colonel
(Francis Swain) Ward", 1805.
S. D.—Portfolio of sketches by Samuel Davis in the Victoria Memorial Hall
collection.

UP.

- Left Calcutta : end of September,
1788.
Bandel. (O.S. iv. 2).
Chinsurah. ("Dutch Budjerau's on
the river Ganges" : T.D.R.A.
1799.)
Rajemahal : (T.D.R.A. 1822 : W.D.
R.A. 1822 : O.S. iii. 24 : O.A.
1834, p. 93 : S.D.)
Sicra Gulley, Sakrigali. (O.S. iv. 9.)
Mootée Jerna Falls. (25 views 19 :
S.D.)
Colgong. ("The Banyan Tree at
Colgong" T.D.B.I. 1847 : O.A.
1834 : p. 105.)

- Pattergotta, Patharghatta (T.D.R.A.
1804).
Boglipore, Bhaugulpur.
Jchangeeree : "Fakcer's Rock" :
(O.S. vi. 9, 10 : S.D.)
Sultangunge (T.D.R.A. 1806).
Nionghyr (Sectacoond).
Peer Pahar, (T.D.R.A. 1813).
Patna. (O.S. i. 10.)
Moneah, Maner. (O.S. i. 12).
Buxar.
Sasseram (T.D.R.A. 1810, 1811 :
W.D.R.A. 1832 : O.A. 1834,
p. 124).
(Return to Buxar).

UP: (continued).

Ghazepore. (T.D.R.A. 1820, 1824 : W.D.R.A. 1800).
 Ramgur or Rampoor: village near Benares. (O.S. iv. 10).
 Benares. (T.D.R.A. 1797, 1799, 1802, 1806, 1815 : W.D.R.A. 1802 : O.S. i. 16, O.A. 1834, pp. 128, 142 O.A. 1835 p. 190).
 Ramnugger. (O.S. i. 14 : iii. 20)
 Chunar. (T.D.R.A. 1827 : O.S. i. 24, iii, 23 : O.A. 1838, p. 197).
 Suttisgurh, Saktisgarh, Falls. (S.D.)
 Mirzapore: ("Banyan Tree", O.A. 1834, p. 184, W.D.R.A. 1833).
 Allahabad. (O.S. i, 6, 8, 22 : iii, 4, 8. O.A. 1838, p. 119).
 Currah, Korah. (O.S. i, 21 : iii, 1, 21 : T.D.R.A. 1801).
 Manickpore. (W.D.R.A. 1832).
 Dalmow: (25 views, 15).
 Cawnpore.
 Cannoge, Kanauj. (O.S. iii, 7 : iv. 12).
 Fuddy Ghur.
 Firozabad. ("Hirkarrah camel : W.D.R.A. 1832 : O.A. 1834, p. 204).
 Agra: (T.D.R.A. 1808 : W.D.R.A. 1799, 1829, 1835 : O.S. i. 18. O.A. 1834, p. 194).
 Futtypore Sicree. (W.D.R.A. 1833 : O.A. 1838 : frontisp. and p. 110).
 Secundra : (O.S. i. 9).
 Mutura, Muttra : Bindrabund. Brindaban : (T.D.R.A. 1797, 1804, 1807 : W.D.R.A. 1834 : O.S. i. 2 : O.A. 1835, p. 118).
 Chauter Serai : (O.A. 1835, p. 106).
 Delhi : (T.D.R.A. 1806, 1807, 1816 : W.D.R.A. 1797, 1832, 1835 : O.S. i, 1, 7, 13, 23 : iii, 6, 18,

19 : vi. 19, 20, 21 : O.A. 1834, title-p. : 1835, p. 92 : 1836, pp. 231, 243 : 1837, pp. 161, 175, 182, 208, 212 : 1838, pp. 15, 30, 92, 206. 25 views, 11).

Anopsheer, Anupshahr.

Nujibabad. (T.D.R.A. 1812 : W.D. R.A. 1828 : O.A. 1835, p. 62. O.S. iv, 13).

Hurdwar. (T.D.R.A. 1821 : W.D. R.A. 1835 : O.A. 1834, p. 245).

(Return Nujibabad).

Enter Mountains (April, 1789).

Road to Serinagur (O.S. iv. 14 to 22 : T.D.R.A. 1824).

Serinagur. (O.S. iv. 23, 24 : O.A. 1838, p. 213 : T.D.R.A. 1800)

DOWN.

Nujibabad.

Chandpore : (T.D.R.A. 1807).

Amrooah, Amroha (T.D.R.A. 1813).

Sumbul, Sambhal (O.A. 1838, p. 3).

Bissowlee (T.D.R.A. 1799).

Pillibeat. (W.D.R.A. 1798 : O.S. iii. 10).

Fuddy Ghur. (June, 1789).

Cawnpore.

Lucknow. (W.D.R.A. 1801, 1834 : O.S. iii. 5, 16, 17, O.A. 1835, pp. 128, 138, 172).

Fyzabad. (W.D.R.A. 1795 : O.S. iii. 3).

Oud, Ajudhia. (T.D.R.A. 1802 : O.A. 1838, p. 123).

Juanpore, Jaunpur : (T.D.R.A. 1798, 1804 : W.D.R.A. 1836, 1838 : O.S. iii. 9 : O.A. 1835 frontisp. O.A. 1838, p. 179 : 25 views 18).

Benares.

Bidzee Gur, Bijaigarh. (T.D.R.A. 1802, 1811. O.A. 1834, p. 176).

DOWN: (continued).

Agouree, Hurgowree. (O.S. i. 19:
T.D.R.A. 1809; W.D.R.A.
1837).

Cheynpore, Chainpur: (T.D.R.A.
1801, 1816: O.S. vi. 13, 15, 22)

Sasseram.

Dhuah Koonde Falls. (O.S. iv. 11).

Shere Gur, Shergarh. (T.D.R.A.
1801, 1823).

Rotas Gur, Rohtasgarh. (W.D.R.A.
1799, 1832, 1837: O.S. i. 5, 11,
20, O.S. iii. 2: O.A. 1835, p.
210.)

(Return Sasseram: cross Soane).

Muddunpore. (O.S. vi. 16. O.A.
1835, p. 222).

Deo. (O.S. vi. 5, 6).

Gyah. (O.S. i, 15: iii. 15).

Bode Gyah (O.A. 1835. p. 232).

Patna.

Bhagalpur: (July, 1790).

Rajemehal.

Gour: (O.S. i. 4: vi. 23: T.D.R.A.

1828: O.A. 1835, p. 244: S.D.).

Calcutta. (O.A. 1835, p. 254 P.V.)

(Visit to Sunderbunds).

"Bore rushing up the Hoogly"

(W.D.R.A. 1836: O.A. 1838:

p. 234).

Cucrahittee (P.V.)

Gangwaughcolla, Geor-khali (P.V)

Scene in the Sunderbunds (W.D.
R.A. 1835).

[The sketch map illustrating the journey, which faces page 45, has been prepared by Mr. F. C. Scallan, of the Surveyor General's office, an old and valued member of the Society. Mr. Scallan writes: "Last year (1922) I attempted to follow the 'pilgrim route' to Badrinath and Kedarnath from Hardwar, but, finding transport difficult, went up by way of Najibabad and Kotdwara to Srinagar in Garhwal—Daniell's 'Serinagur'." A photograph of modern Srinagar and of the valley of the Alakananda; taken by Mr. Scallan on September 24, 1922, from the dak bungalow on the hill, is reproduced opposite page 64.]

B.—THE JOURNEY AS DESCRIBED IN "ORIENTAL SCENERY."

THE fourth series of "Oriental Scenery," as already mentioned, contains twelve sketches of the Garhwal country. Its title page is as follows:—

"Twenty-four Landscapes (The Fourth Series): Views in Hindoostan: drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell. London, May, 1807."

The accompanying letter-press is prefaced by the following introduction:

The views contained in the present series commence with Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of Hindoostan; and thence, taken from different points, extending northwards as far as the mountains of Serinagur. Of the present series a large portion consists of views taken from the scenery of the north: an arrangement occasioned not only by the grandeur and picturesque merits of that elevated region, but the consideration of its novelty: for when the author visited the mountains of Serinagur, those parts had never been explored by any European traveller: and, owing either to the difficulties of access, or impediments arising from the political circumstances of the country, other information in the province of art is not likely to be received from that remote part of the northern extremity of India.

The drawings from which these views are engraved were taken in the months of July and August 1792 (sic.) (47).

The following descriptions are attached to each of the twelve drawings:

13. *View at Nigeibabad, near the Coaduwar Gaut.*

Nigeibabad is one of the most opulent towns in the fertile district of Rohilcund, and subject at this time to Fizula Cawn. It is a place of tolerable trade, chiefly carried on with the mountainous country in its vicinity, whence a variety of ores, gums, and spices are brought and disposed of in the bazars, of which there are several.

This place though still considerable, has not wholly escaped the all destroying hand of time. The ruined remains of many edifices of no vulgar style, formerly the dwellings of Rohilla families, discover strong signs of decay. These buildings however are Mahommedan and the city itself is probably not very ancient.

14. *Coaduwar Gaut.*

This view represents the principal pass leading from the Rohilla district into the interior of the mountainous country of Serinagur. Those romantic and lofty regions never having been explored by European adventurers, any attempt at a stranger to penetrate as far as the city of Serinagur by this route was deemed a hazardous enterprise, if not an absolutely impracticable one.

(47) See sketch No. 14, where the correct date is given of the journey into Garhwal.

But by a previous arrangement with the Rajah of that capital, the difficulties to it that remained were chiefly occasioned by the surface of the country which, though truly formidable, were calculated to excite rather than discourage the curiosity of those who take delight in observing nature under every variety of aspect: and more especially in situations where she is so seldom seen, except by those who cannot appreciate her beauties.

This view was taken in April, 1789, immediately previous to the author's passing into the mountains.

15. *View in the Koah Nullah.*

The Koah Nullah is a mountain stream that in the season of rain must be a most furious torrent, but in the month of April was a delightful rivulet, that, sparkling in the sun, gave animation and beauty to the rude scenes through which it pursued its course.

The road here (if such it may be called which, having no trace upon the surface, must continually be hunted for) presents all the difficulties and impediments that can be imagined in such situations. Sometimes blocked up by the violence of periodical floods, it is continued by the trunks of trees thrown from rock to rock, or carried up the steep sides of large fragments of the fallen cliffs, by means of twisted branches, that being fastened to the surface, provide a mode of clambering, which, though practicable, was neither safe nor commodious to travellers incumbered with baggage.

But paths like these, little frequented, where public attention has never been exerted to improve the means of communication, are generally the result of accident, and in the most difficult part are effected merely by the slight expedients of individuals, whom necessity compels to make their way through such passages.

16. *Jugcanor, in the mountains of Serinagur.*

In this view also the Koah Nullah makes its appearance: on the banks of which, raised above the reach of casual floods, stands the pleasant village of Jugcanor. It is a small irregular place: the zemindar, or chief landholder of the neighbourhood, like the village squires of other countries, is lodged more sumptuously than his inferiors: his mansion is tolerably built of stone, covered with slates, and consist of two stories, the upper one accommodating the chief and his family, the lower affording shelter to his cattle.

The husbandmen were here employed in reaping their corn, which was an abundant crop of very excellent wheat: a grain preferred by the mountaineers to rice: although their wheat was despised by the rice-eaters of Bengal: who chiefly composed the author's party of attendants, during his mountainous excursion. These lowlanders gave also another example of the force of prejudice in their great aversion to the beautiful transparent water every where flowing through the hilly country: their stagnant reservoirs, and even the turbid waters of the Hooghly at Calcutta, appeared to them much more inviting.

17. *View near Duramundi, in the mountains of Serinagur.*

Duramundi is a village further advanced into the mountains, about ten miles from Jugcanor, and two or three short of Dusa. Here the mountainous masses are considerably enlarged, and the scenery consequently improves in grandeur. An example, slightly indicated, occurs in this view of the practice of cultivating the sides of the hills, in successive ledges, so common in China. The figures that are introduced represent the Highland merchants on their way from the plains where they have been bartering the produce of their hills for salt, copper vessels, linen and other wares, which they convey not in packs, like our pedestrian traders, but in baskets closely fitted and secured to their backs; relieving themselves occasionally from the incumbent weight by the application of a short staff, carried by each traveller for the purpose, to the bottom of the basket, while he takes his standing rest. In this manner these indefatigable creatures, that seem no larger than ants, compared with the stupendous heights they have to traverse, pursue their laborious journey, with a constancy peculiar to the hardy tenants of the hills.

18. *Near Dusa, in the mountains of Serinagur.*

Dusa stands on the banks of the Koah Nullah, a few miles, it is said, below its source. The forms of the mountains are, from this point, extremely bold, and all around the general effect is majestic. They are richly clothed with wood, and, in many parts, even to their summits; where oak, fir, with many of the forest trees of India, are produced; and the cultivation of grain is carried up their sides to a great height.

In these secluded parts, scarcely affording a single foot of level ground, and where the whole surface, tossed into confusion, offers nothing but the perpetual labour of climbing and descending, there is a considerable degree of population; and pleasant villages are scattered about among the hills, often in situations where it might be supposed eagles alone would build their tenements; for they seem accessible only to the fowls of the air, and not to man. But security is a principal source of happiness, and these regions offer few temptations to the ambition and rapacity of those exalted spirits, whose insatiable thirst of glory fills the world with mischief and misery. The peaceful inhabitants of these hills not only enjoy a secure retreat from the perils of polished society, but a luxuriant vegetation supplies them with food, and also with gums and other articles of commerce, with which, by sale or barter, they procure from the distant plains such conveniences as their moderate system of life requires.

19. *Buddel, opposite Bilcate, in the mountains of Serinagur.*

The village of Buddel is about 14 miles from Dusa, and separated from it by a very lofty mountainous ridge. It is pleasantly situated on a delicious stream of liquid crystal, called the Ramgunga. On the opposite side of that river is the large village of Bilcate. It being the time of harvest when this view was taken, and the corn gathered in, the mode of treading out the grain by the feet of cattle, is represented in the foreground: and also the collecting and winnowing it: all which operations are performed in the open air.

20. *View of the Ramgunga.*

This view is taken in the vicinity, and between the villages of Buddell and Bilate, from a most delightful spot insulated by the Ramgunga, whose clear and active streams communicated both freshness and beauty to the scene. The author would have had much pleasure in embodying the charms of the evening scenery of that enchanting, if not enchanted, island, a task which unhappily is not within the reach of his art, being, the result of various concurring circumstances, and of undefinable and evanescent effects that the pencil cannot trace. The mild temperature of the atmosphere, opposed to the heats of the preceding hours, inflamed by fatigue: the murmuring of the passing streams: the majestic grandeur of the mountains, increased by the visionary effect of the twilight: and to these must be added a circumstance, if possible still further out of the reach of imitative art, and this was the myriad swarms of the fire-flies, that seemed to fill the lower region of the air, and which uniting their numerous rays of phosphoric light, illuminated every object, and diffused a magical radiance equal beautiful and surprising: it seemed, in truth, to be a land of romance, and the proper residence of those fanciful beings, the fairies and genii, that appear so often in asiatic tales. But the delicious sensations produced by causes of such a nature can, by no effect of genius, be re-excited: they must be seen and felt to be conceived; purchased by toil and privation of every kind and, after all, they must be met with, and not sought: for pleasures that delight by surprise, vanish before anticipation.

From the villages of Buddell and Bilate the road to Serinagur continues up the ridge of the mountain that appears in the middle of this view, and leads, by a laborious ascent of eight or ten miles, to the village of Natan: a labour which few, perhaps, except those who have cultivated the pleasures of art, can undergo without complaint or relaxation: but the infinite variety with which the artist's eye is every where regaled in these vast assemblages of picturesque, grand and magnificent forms, more than counterbalance the toil: of his pursuit.

21. *View between Natan and Takā-ca-munda.*

On proceeding from Natan towards Serinagur, the road still continues to ascend, and from a point of great elevation this view was taken. The eye is here on a level with the tops of the surrounding mountains: the forms of which are more pointed and irregular than those passed before, and resemble the tumultuous agitation of the ocean, roused by a tempest. The general aspect of the whole is dreary and vast: vegetation is scanty: the scattered trees that here and there occur, seem to be embellishments misplaced and inappropriate: although, if trees are admissible, it could certainly be no other than mis-shapen blights such as these. But the circumstance which, from this point of view, chiefly raises our astonishment, is the appearance of a prodigious range of still more distant mountains, proudly rising above all that we have hitherto considered as most grand and magnificent, and which, clothed in a robe of everlasting snow, seem by their ethereal hue to belong to a region elevated into the clouds, and partaking of their nature: having nothing in common with

terrestrial forms. It would be in vain to attempt, by any description, to convey an idea of these sublime effects, which perhaps even the finest art can but faintly imitate. These mountains are supposed to be a branch of the Emodus, or Imaus, of the ancients: and so great is their height, they are sometimes seen in the province of Behar, and even in Bengal.

22. *Between Taka-ca-munda and Serinagur.*

In these high situations the traveller encounters no villages: he must carry with him the means of subsistence, or perish. Taka-ca-munda is a solitary resting place: a plain stone building erected near the barren summit of one of the highest mountains, for the accommodation of benighted wanderers, or to afford an occasional shelter from the storms that frequently vex these cloud-enveloped hills.

The road is continued over the mountainous tract represented in this plate: it then descends to the Bunder Nullah, not far from which the traveller is gratified with a sight of the Alucnindra, or Ganges, and of the city of Serinagur.

23. *The Rope Bridge at Serinagur.*

The city of Serinagur appears in the distance, extending along the right bank of the Alucnindra, and is partly concealed by the high rock in front of the view. On the author's approach to this place, he was greeted by many young people, who presented him with flowers, and preceded his party on their way to the town, singing and shewing other signs of an hospitable welcome. On entering the city, he found the disposition of the Rajah himself no less friendly, but unfortunately he was then preparing to quit his capital, and leave it to the mercy of another Rajah, who, in his superior power, had discovered an unanswerable argument for invading the territories of his neighbour. The river here is too rapid to be passed, even by boats, and therefore the bridge of ropes, represented in this plate, offered the only means for the Rajah and his people to effect their retreat, which circumstance presented an effecting scene, and a most melancholy example of the wretched state of society under these petty chieftains, whose views of government are little better than those of savages; and with whom all questions of justice and right are, as with duellists, referred to arms; considering, like them, no decisions so correct, and so honourable, as those which have been recorded in letter of blood.

This bridge, which is 240 feet in length, is an ingenious contrivance, and so simple that it may be soon erected and soon removed. On each side of the river two strong and lofty poles are fixed in the ground, and kept together with transverse pieces at their upper ends, over which large ropes, made fast to the rocks or ground, are stretched and extended from side to side. From the bottom of these upright poles are carried other ropes, which are drawn towards the upper ones by a lacing of cords, while flat pieces of bamboo are so fastened to the lower cords as to form a tolerably commodious footway.

On the top of the rock near the bridge are the remains of a building formerly inhabited by a Faquier, who is a kind of Indian hermit.

24. *View taken near the city of Serinagur.*

At this place, which is a little above the city, terminated the author's rout through the mountainous district of Serinagur. War, which is the scourge of art and science, rendered the further gratification of his curiosity, however inoffensive its object, in these parts dangerous. The fighting men were preparing for resistance, and the rest of the people, seeking their safety by flight, were removing in a body to the opposite side of the river, by means of their temporary bridge.

The mountains are here embellished with scattered villages, and their sides with regular horizontal stripes of cultivation, producing an effect not so agreeable to the artistical as to the philanthropic observer, who is much less interested by the beauties of form than by such unpicturesque indications of useful industry. The Alucnindra which flows through this fertile vale, might, indeed, be termed the Ganges, being its principal branch, although it does not actually receive that appellation till, after passing the mountains, it makes its solemn entrance into the plains of Hindoostan, at the Hurduwar: a place of vast consideration among the Hindoos, regarded by all the faithful as a bathing place of prodigious efficacy, in preparing the way to future bliss, and thence denominated Hurduwar, or the Gates of Heaven.

It seems to be the property of this marvellous river to sanctify whatever it approaches, its islands are therefore devoted to the habitation of priests and pious hermits: its rocky banks display the embellishments of religious art: the cities upon its shores, by their innumerable ghauts or flights of steps, for the convenience of ablution, seem erected chiefly for pious purposes: and the name of Serinagur, or Holy Place, would probably never have been given to that city, had it not been situated on the banks of the Ganges. But time makes no distinction between what is sacred and what profane: this ancient city has felt its effects, and shares in the common fate of Hindoo grandeur, which can now only be seen in its mutilated remains. Raja PURDOO MAAN SAA, its present chief, is a man of high cast, and much beloved by his people: of whom, nevertheless, he is but a feeble protector: like many of the minor sovereigns of our own hemisphere, whose sceptres of straw, the gracious boon, perhaps, of some colossal power command no respect, and impart no security.

Serinagur is in latitude 31 deg. N. longitude 78 deg. W., and is distant from Cape Comorin, the first view of this series, about 2,500 miles.

C.—UP THE RIVER.

(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1834, PP. 91—254).

WE now took our passage (from Colombo) in a country ship to Calcutta where we stayed only a few days, when we launched upon the broad bosom of the Hooghly. . . As we proceeded up the river, the current ran so strongly against us, and the wind was so generally unfavourable, that it was nearly a month before we entered the Ganges at Sooty. In our progress we landed and made a short stay at Rajemah'l. . . . In the neighbourhood of this once memorable spot, for it was once the mighty capital of a still mighty province [of Bengal] and a royal residence, there are several remarkable buildings. . . . There was especially a Mausoleum, still in a perfect state of preservation, surmounted by a large dome (48): out of this a vigorous peepul tree grew and nearly overshadowed the whole building. [Here follows a description of a *Suttcc.*] . . . As we proceeded up the river from Rajemah'l. the Colgong hills were exceedingly beautiful. . . The current was unusually strong for some time after we left our last halting place, and the stream so tortuous, that we had no little difficulty in tracking round the curvatures which the channel here presents. Our progress being very slow, we had a full opportunity of observing how numerous were the alligators with which the waters of this sacred stream abound. . . An immense animal was killed by the tindal of our budgerow basking upon a bank, upon which the boat struck almost immediately after. It measured fifteen and a half feet in length. A considerable time elapsed before we got our budgerow off the bank. The budgerow is a large, unwieldy, flat-bottomed boat with eighteen oars, more or less, and a lofty poop, covering nearly three-fourths of its entire length, under which are two capacious cabins, with venetian blinds, at once to exclude the sun and admit the air. Every night we moored beneath the shelter of some convenient bank, and got under weigh again in the morning. Whenever we landed above Rajemah'l we found those religious devotees, so well known in India under the name of Gossains, to be extremely numerous. . . We were induced to land and visit the waterfall of Mooteejerna, but it did not at all realise our expectations, falling far short of what we had seen in the southern extremity of the Peninsula. . . .

On our approach to Colgong, whither we proceeded on foot, leaving our budgerow to track up the river, intending to join her at a stated spot, we were hospitably entertained with new bread and delicious fresh butter, which was sent to us by an English resident. We had walked several miles under a hot sun, and were a good deal fatigued, so that this fare, simple as it was, inspired us with fresh vigour to pursue our walk. On entering the nullah at Baugleapore, we saw an immense number of alligators in the sacred tank. . . . We now proceeded to the spot indicated as the place of meeting when we left

(48) An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of a "Mausoleum at Raje Mah'l" on the river bank (showing the peepul tree) is given opposite p. 93.

our boat; but when we reached it the budgerow had not arrived. It turned out that she had sprung her main mast and in spite of all the efforts of her crew it went by the board. The consequence was that we were obliged to resume our walk for above three miles, ankle-deep through burning sand, before we could meet with a boat to take us to the budgerow. At a convenient place we put in to refit, and having repaired her masts and rigging which was a matter of rather tardy accomplishment, we continued our progress up the river. We were plentifully supplied with all necessaries by a little cook-boat which sailed with us. . . . During the morning we witnessed an exceedingly agreeable sight of one hundred boats, of all shapes and sizes peculiar to the country, making their rapid way down the river from Patna to Calcutta. . . . They did not pass us by in silence; the regular cadence of the rowers' song as they kept time to the measured dash of their oars, and the buzz of voices with which it was constantly mingled, gave some variety to the chaunts of our own native attendants and of our boat's crew. . . . As we advanced, we found the current more rapid, running strongly against us, and the course of the river occasionally obstructed by large banks of sand. Our dandies were frequently up to their shoulders in water, into which they plunged in defiance of the alligators. . . . At this part of our progress our attention was arrested by a very curious novelty. From the continual wearing away of the bank, the roots of a large banyan tree were completely denuded to the very surface of the water. . . . Our budgerow was dragged round the little cape which the stately banyan here formed on the bank, and the different twistings of the roots made so many resting places on which our dandies supported themselves while they pulled the boat against the current (49).

We now sailed with a tolerably fair wind, tracking with the assistance of our eighteen oars, until we reached Patna. . . . We were two days at Patna, having been most hospitably invited by the Nabob to take up our quarters. . . . in a bungalow which his father had erected on the very brink of the river and which Sir George Barlow, when member of Council, had repeatedly occupied. . . . From Patna we passed on to Dinapoor and then to the conflux of the Soane with the Ganges, which is truly a magnificent spectacle. Here we were again obliged to cross the river and to encounter the danger of the high banks, in order to avoid the shallows on the southern side. . . . Both wind and current were now against us, so that the day after we entered within the confluence of the Soane and Ganges we made but very little progress. On the following morning we passed Buxar fort: but were not allowed to sail under it, in consequence of the banks having given way from the frequent striking of boats against them, which had endangered the security of the walls. We were therefore obliged to cross the river where there was fortunately good tracking

(49) An engraving of the scene by G. Hollis from a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., is given opposite p. 105 under the title of "Banks of the Ganges."

ground and quiet water (50). After passing Buxar fort, we left the Ganges for a day or two, proceeding to Sasseram, a town of some celebrity about thirty miles south west of Buxar. It is distinguished as the burial place of Shere Shah, an eminent Afghan prince, who expelled (Humayun) the father of the Great Akbar from Hindustan (51). This fine structure is rapidly falling to decay and the beautiful reddish stone of which it is composed is greatly discoloured by age and neglect. We next reached Ghazipoor, where there is a beautiful building called in the language of the country Chalees Satoon—the place of forty pillars (52). . . . From Ghazipoor we soon reached Benares the most holy city of Hindoostan. . . . The only Mahomedan building of any note which it contains is the Musjid, a large mosque built by the Emperor Aurangzebe. It was erected upon the former site and with the materials of one of the most sacred temples in India, as a monument of the triumph of the crescent over the hosts of the idolator (53). . . . We took up for our abode near the Shewallah Gaut, the former residence of Chait Singh. . . The Gaut is situated at the northern extremity of the city, on the very margin of the river (54). . . . It is a handsome building, but by no means splendid, neither is it very capacious. [Here follows a lengthy account of the insurrection at Benares in 1781, and of Cheit Singh's flight to Bidzee Gur.] The fort of Bidzee Gur is situated upon a lofty hill about sixty miles south-west of Benares (55). . . . Cheit Singh upon quitting Bidzee Gur, fled to Panna, the capital of Bundelcund. . . . and the fortress surrendered [to Major Popham] on the 10th of November (1781), within three months after the memorable insurrection at Benares. From Benares we proceeded to Chunar, the fort to which Mr. Hastings retired. . . in 1781. . . The place is excessively unhealthy, during certain months in the year, and has been the grave of a great number of Europeans. . . . yet this dreadful spot has been assigned as a station for invalid pensioners. . . .

(50) "The influx of waters at Buxar" says Emma Roberts, "is tremendous." Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., possesses a sepia drawing by William Daniell showing a budgerow in mid-stream off "the Buxar Pagoda" (as noted by the artist in pencil on the top of the sketch). The budgerow as represented resembles a modern house boat but with taller masts, and more space between the boat house and the prow, and provided with a flagstaff and an enormous Union Jack. "Trackers" or towers are pulling the boat from the bank: and are followed by a relay of spare "watermen."

(51) An engraving by F. J. Havell of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of "The Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah" is given opposite p. 123. Sasseram was again visited on the return journey.

(52) The *Chalees Satoon* depicted in sketch No. 6 of the first series of "Oriental Scenery" (views taken in 1789-1790) is not at Ghazipur, but "on the Jumna side of the Fort of Allahabad." It will be observed that no mention whatever is made of Allahabad in this account.

(53) An engraving by G. Hollis of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Mosque at Benares" is given opposite p. 127.

(54) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of the "Shuwallah Gaut, Benares," is given opposite p. 143.

(55) An engraving by M. J. Starling of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of "The Hill Fort of Bidzee Gur" is given opposite p. 175.

We had a favourable breeze all the way from Chunar to Cawnpore, but we nevertheless did not reach the latter town without encountering sundry accidents, from which one is never entirely free in a budgerow upon the Ganges. . . Several large boats were in company with us, and we had the selfish satisfaction of perceiving that we were by no means singular in our disasters. . . We passed a beautiful banyan tree at a short distance from Mirzapoor (56). . . The approach to Cawnpore is exceedingly picturesque. Here is an immense variety of buildings especially at Currah which may be called the city of tombs. This was once the residence of the Mogul Governor of the district. . . The military station of Cawnpore extends several miles along the banks of the Ganges. Not far off are the ruins of a small pagoda, on the site of an ancient city, Kanouge . . . once so populous and extensive that it is said to have contained thirty thousand shops which sold betel alone, and the circumference of its walls is stated to have been a hundred miles. . .

From Cawnpore we made the best of our way to Futtypore (57), and thence across to Agra, which was raised by Akbar from an inconsiderable village to be the capital of the province. Near Agra is the celebrated Taje Mahal . . . The first sight of the Taje is highly imposing: the edifice is constructed entirely of white marble and standing as it does upon a vast plain under a verical sun, the reflections are so vivid that the shadows projected from the building are extremely faint. I would remark here that no one can form a just idea of an oriental landscape or of the peculiar effect of light and shade under a tropical sun, from a view in Europe. The forcible contrasts of light and shadow . . . will be vainly looked for in India. Nature there presents no such direct opposition: she throws one solemn tone of grandeur over the whole scene, except in the hilly country, where the aspect of her general features is entirely changed (58). . . It happened, while we were at Agra, that the celebrated Scindia passed near the city with an escort of at least thirty thousand troops and two thousand elephants. He was grand-nephew to the Mahadajee Scindia being the grandson of his younger brother (59). We were attracted to the spot to see the Mahratta chieftain and his followers, and the sight was in truth a very splendid one. . . Some of the

(56) An engraving by G. Hollis of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., entitled "The Banyan Tree," is given opposite p. 185.

(57) Fatehgarh, higher up the river, beyond Kanauj, must be intended. From there the journey would lie across country to Agra.

(58) These remarks which are obviously those of William Daniell himself, introduce (opposite page 194) an engraving by J. Lee of a drawing of his of "The Taje Mah'l at Agra" taken from the river Jumna. Caunter in a footnote adds: "It has been the object of the artist to give exact portraits of the scenes which his pencil has portrayed, and I am satisfied that no one who has been in India will deny the faithfulness of these representations."

(59) There is a sad confusion of dates here. Mahadaji Scindia died suddenly at Wanowres near Poona in 1794 after the Daniells had left India, and was succeeded by Dowlat Rao, whose army is the subject of description. An engraving by W. D. Taylor of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A. of "Mahadajee Scindia" is given opposite p. 229.

elephants were splendidly caparisoned, especially that upon which the Maharaja himself rode. The animal represented (60) belonged to a British officer and was the finest I have ever seen, insomuch that Mr. Daniell thought it a subject worthy of his pencil. It was purchased for four thousand rupees, or four hundred pounds sterling . . . From Agra we proceeded to Delhi. . . On the road to Futtypoor Sicree is a lofty minaret curiously ornamented, from the summit of which the Emperor Akbar used to enjoy elephant fights (61). We halted at Matura, an ancient city on the banks of the Jumna, about thirty miles from Agra (62). . . In the neighbourhood of this city there is a number of monkeys of very large size: these animals are supported from a fund left for that purpose by Mahadajee Scindia. One of them was lame from some accident, and in consequence of this resemblance to his patron (63), was treated with especial respect. . . .

Seven days after quitting Agra, we entered Delhi. The ruins in the neighbourhood of this once mighty city are extraordinary: they are scattered over a surface of nearly twenty miles, and the new city is said to have occupied an area of equal extent. The modern Delhi was founded by the Emperor Shah Jehan in 1631 and named after himself, Shajehanabad. It is about seven miles in circumference, and is protected on three sides by a plain brick wall. . . The most remarkable thing in this neighbourhood, abounding in magnificent ruins, is the well known Cuttab Minar, at old Delhi, nine miles south of the modern city (64). It is a magnificent tower, two hundred and forty-two feet high, and three feet in circumference at the base. . . . Upon quitting Delhi we made the best of our way to Anopeshur, a military station of some importance upon the Ganges. . . We now crossed the river and proceeded through Rohilcund to Hurdwar, whence we resolved, after staying as long as might be agreeable or convenient, to return to Calcutta. We arrived at Hurdwar, the most sacred town on the banks of the Ganges, just eighteen days after we quitted Delhi. . . Hurdwar is one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in India. . . Not far from here, the Ganges breaks through the Sewaluk mountains and enters the plains of India. . . The principal gaut, or

(60) An engraving by M. J. Starling of W. Daniell's drawing of "A Caparisoned Elephant" is given opposite p. 205. The painting, together with a companion picture of "A Hirkarrah Camel" (of which an engraving by W. J. Cooke appears opposite p. 209) was exhibited in the Royal Academy of 1832. Both are now in the Soane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(61) See *Oriental Annual* for 1838: frontispiece, "Futtypore Sicri, near Agra": and p. 110, "Minar at Futtypore Sicri" (the minaret mentioned in the text).

(62) There is another account of Muttra (Brindaban) in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (pp. 117-120): and an engraving by J. H. Kernot of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Mosque at Muttra," built by Abdulnubbi Khan, a foudjar of Aurungzebe, is given opposite p. 118.

(63) Mahadajee Scindia was wounded in the right knee at the third battle of Panipat in 1761, in which three of his brothers were killed.

(64) An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A. of the "Cuttab Minar" is given as a frontispiece to this volume of the *Oriental Annual* (1834).

flight of steps from the street to the river, exhibits a most elegant piece of plain masonry and is considered upon the whole the most sacred spot upon the Ganges (65). . . Before we quitted Hurdwar, we made a short excursion to the lower regions of the Himalaya Mountains, where we found the climate delightful and the face of the country diversified beyond description.

“SERINAGUR IN GURWHAL.”
(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1835, P. 60).

Serinagur, where we halted, is the capital of Gurwhal, and situated on the south bank of the Alacananda river, which is the main stream of the sacred Ganges, almost seven leagues above its junction with the Bhageruttee, where a belt of level ground extends to a distance of several miles, forming the beautiful valley of Serinagur. This city was once a place of considerable importance, and a mart for the production of the countries on either side of the Snowy mountains. It was dreadfully shattered by an earthquake in 1803. Since that time it has been in a state of comparative decay, and will probably never be restored.

(65) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A. of “The Principal Gaut at Hurdwar” is given opposite p. 245. The picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1835, and is now in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, in Calcutta. In total disregard of chronology, an account is provided of the accident which occurred through overcrowding in 1820, and was attended by many casualties.

D.—THE EXPEDITION INTO THE HILLS.

(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1835, pp. 1 to 67).

UPON quitting Hurdwar we proceeded towards the mountains. . We entered the mountains by the Coaduwar ghaut, meeting several travellers who gave us the rather discouraging information that the snow had begun to fall before they left Serinagur, where it was our intention to make our final halt. As we advanced the sky appeared to be tinged with a deep dingy red, and upon suddenly emerging from a narrow glen, to our astonishment the distant mountains seemed to be in a blaze. The fire swept up their sides to the extent of several miles, undulating like the agitated waves of the ocean when reddened by the slanting beams of the setting sun. It was like an ignited sea, exhibiting an effect at once new and fearful. This striking phenomenon is not by any means uncommon and is accounted for by the larger bamboos, as they are swayed by the wind, emitting fire from their hard glassy stems through the violence of their friction and thus spreading destruction through the mountain forests. These are so extensive that the fire continues to burn for many days together and is often as suddenly extinguished as it is ignited by those mighty deluges of rain so common in mountainous countries. . .

We had turned the angle of a hill that abutted upon a narrow stream when on the opposite side of the rivulet we saw a fine male rhinoceros. It stood apparently with great composure about two hundred yards above us in an open vista of the wood. Mr. Daniell, under the protection of a lofty intervening bank, was able to approach sufficiently near to make a perfect sketch of it; after which, upon a gun being fired, it deliberately walked off into the jungle (66). . .

Before we entered the pass of the mountains which separates them from the plains we were obliged to obtain permission from the Rajah of Serinagur to visit his capital. This permission was readily granted, though it caused some delay as the formalities even of a petty Rajah's court are invariably more numerous than agreeable: we nevertheless contrived to spend the intervening time pleasantly enough in the valleys through which our route lay to the Coaduwar ghaut. The Rajah sent an escort with two hirkarrahs (messengers) to conduct us from this place, where the mountains began to close in upon our path, exhibiting to our view that grandeur of form and majesty of aspect for which this mighty range is so pre-eminently distinguished. At this pass, upon the summit of a tabular hill which is ascended by steps cut in the rock, is built a small neat village, (67) flanked by a strong barrier and gateway. The walls on either side the portal are very massy, and the entrance narrow. The valley by which the hill is immediately bounded is protected towards the plains by a rapid stream, which taking a circular direction nearly encloses it on two sides, rushing down into the lower valley with a din and turbulence peculiar to mountain torrents.

(66) An engraving by J. Redaway of the drawing by W. Daniell appears opposite p. 4.

(67) Kotdwara.

The gate of the village was guarded by a small detachment of the Rajah's troops, and on passing under its low arch, we entered the territory of Serinagur. This village is quite deserted during the rainy season when the ghaut is rendered almost impassable, and becomes the abode of tigers, leopards, bears, hyenas, and other beasts of prey, which retire into the jungle as soon as clearer skies and a more genial temperature invite the return of man. Here the vakeel sent by the Rajah procured for us the necessary diggeries and silleenies—the former to bear our palankeens, the latter to carry our baggage: he was exceedingly civil and showed every disposition to diminish the difficulties which invariably arise to impede the progress of the mountain traveller. In these mountains especially there is generally a reluctance in the natives to contribute to the accommodation of a stranger, and it is no easy matter at any time to obtain porters to transport his baggage. They are for the most part a very indolent race, though accustomed to encounter the severities of want and to undergo occasionally the most difficult and arduous labour.

The palankeen used in these hills is of a peculiar construction and admirably adapted to the asperities of the region. In the precipitous ascents which here continually occur, the path frequently winds round angles so abrupt and acute that it would be impossible to get round them with the ordinary palankeen; the poles therefore of those which are adapted to mountain journeys are divided in the centre, acting upon a movable hinge, opening before and behind the palankeen, as the front bearer turns the sharp angle of a hill, and resuming their original position as soon as the abutment has been cleared and the path again becomes straight. It is wonderful to see with what agility the silleenies scale the steep acclivities, where there often appears scarcely footing for a goat, with loads that would distress any person of ordinary strength even upon level ground; they carry with them bamboos crossed at the top by a short transverse stick in the form of the ancient Greek T, upon which they rest their loads when fatigued. They are generally small men, but their limbs are large and the muscles strongly developed, from the severe exercise to which their laborious employment subjects them. Their legs are frequently disfigured by varicose veins, which dilate to the size of a man's little finger, appearing like cords twisted round their limbs and causing in the spectator a somewhat painful feeling of apprehension lest they should suddenly burst—a consequence that could not fail to be fatal.

We found the road here to be difficult and frequently dangerous winding along the edges of deep ravines and occasionally cut through the solid surfaces of the rock. The waters of the Coah Nullah dashed beneath our path over their narrow rocky bed, foaming and hissing on their way to the parent stream (68) of which they formed one of the numerous accessories. The channel is occasionally almost choked with huge masses of rock, which fall from the butting precipices above and so interrupt the course of the stream that it boils and lashes over them with an uproar truly appalling: specially when the traveller

(68) The river Alaknanda.

casts his anxious eye over it while crossing one of those frail bridges over which he is so frequently obliged to pass in a journey through these mountains.

We again met with some delay, in consequence of the alarm of our servants at the aspect of the country. Many of them refused to advance and notwithstanding the civility of the Rajah's vakeel in procuring us porters, several of these quitted us shortly after we left the Coaduwar ghaut, and we had great difficulty in supplying their places; and when this was finally accomplished, it was not without resorting to a compulsory mode of discipline which necessity alone could have warranted but against which there was no alternative. Thus we were obliged to obtain by stripes what we could not do by persuasion. We however at length procured the number required over whom a vigilant watch was kept as we proceeded. . .

In the course of our progress towards Serinagur, we found all kinds of European trees and plants in abundance. We saw sweetbriar with and without thorns: walnut, maple, and willow-trees; apple and pear, peach, apricot, and barberry-trees: birch, yew, beech, pine, ash, and fir-trees: we saw likewise the mulberry, laurel, hazel, and marsh-mallow. Raspberries, strawberries, and gooseberries abound in this region, and flowers with which every European is familiar, the dog-rose, heliotrope, holly hock, marigold, nasturtium, poppy, larkspur; lettuces, turnips, cabbages, and potatoes, are also very plentiful—indeed, I think there is scarcely a European fruit, flower, or vegetable that is not to be found in some part or other of these mountains. We were told that oaks were occasionally seen in the higher regions of this immense chain, though we did not happen to see any. The common stinging nettle was very abundant, though somewhat more potent in its powers of infliction than the same plant so well known in Europe: and it was truly amusing to see with what alacrity one or two Bengalee servants who had ventured to accompany us, having unwittingly squatted down upon a tuft of these insidious evergreens, sprang upon their feet, gaping with inquisitive surprise at the cause of their sudden celerity.

As we advanced we crossed several nullahs in which were huge disjointed masses that had fallen from the super-incumbent rocks, so rounded and polished by constant attrition—for the extreme agitation of the waters produced a perpetual whirlpool—that one might have imagined they had been subjected to the process of human labour. . .

By this time the difficulties of our route had considerably increased: to look down some of the gaping gulfs which arrested our gaze as we passed them, required no ordinary steadiness of brain, and the road by which we had to descend was frequently so steep that we were obliged to cling to the jagged projections of rock or to the few stunted shrubs that appeared here and there in our path, in spite of the asperity of the stormy surface through which they with difficulty forced their way. . . Impediments began now to multiply upon us; we were obliged occasionally to wade through the nullahs as high as our hips, and found it no easy matter to keep our footing on account of the impetuous rushing of the waters, while the circular stones with which their channels abounded rendered them generally anything but easy to pass over. The beds

of these nullahs are very irregular and though narrow are generally deep. . . One of our followers was struck down by the impetuosity of the waters and was only saved by catching hold of the branch of a tree that had fortunately fallen across the stream. . . Our ascent was at times so laborious that we scarcely advanced more than half a mile in an hour. . .

We passed several villages (69) as we advanced towards Serinagur in which the houses were tolerably well constructed, though huddled together without either order or uniformity; they were, however upon the whole, not deficient in accommodation. As in Savoy and, I believe, in mountainous regions generally, so in these mountains the side of the hill commonly forms one of the walls of the highlanders' tenement, against which the roof is fixed and supported by two strong stone walls projecting at right angles from the face of the hill; the area being closed in by a third wall completing the square. These houses are entered by a low doorway, through which the inmates are obliged to creep, the aperture not being high enough to admit a child of more than three years without stooping.

Our road now lay up a very precipitous mountain, the bleak sides of which had been bared of vegetation by one of those conflagrations already noticed and not uncommon in these regions. The charred stumps of trees were everywhere visible as we ascended, presenting an aspect at once of ruin and desolation by no means cheering: higher up, however, the jungle remained entire. After slowly winding for some distance between two hills, we entered a dense thicket which day appeared never to have visited, for it was involved in a perpetual twilight. We now commenced a rapid and difficult descent: it led us into a valley overhung by the peaks of mountains which seemed to plunge their tall spires into the skies and absolutely to prop the firmament. Emerging from this valley we commenced another arduous ascent and although the summit of the hill appeared to promise a cessation of our labours, yet we had no sooner surmounted it than other hills rose, before us. . .

The third day after our departure from the Coaduwar Ghaut, we encountered a storm of thunder and lightning such as can never be easily effaced from my memory. . . The rain quickly poured down upon us in a deluge. We contrived to obtain a tolerable shelter under a projecting ledge which overhung a part of our path to the extent of several feet. . . Though the storm did not continue above a few minutes, it was nevertheless some times before we entirely recovered from its effects; it had indeed made a deep impression on us all and was by far the most terrible, for the time it lasted, I had ever witnessed. . .

Early in the afternoon of this day we came to a rude Bridge (70) which it was necessary to cross in order to save a circuit of several miles. This we determined to do in spite of the hazard which is by no means trifling to one

(69) Jugcanor, Buddell and Bilcate: illustrated in "Oriental Scenery" (4th series, Nos. 16 and 19).

(70) An engraving of William Daniell's drawing of the Rope-Bridge is reproduced in the "Oriental Annual" for 1838: (p. 213). See also sketch no. 23 in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery."

unaccustomed to so novel a method of transportation. . . The bridge consisted simply of two ropes of about an inch and a half in diameter made of twisted creepers, eighteen inches apart, passed through a hoop and secured on either side of the stream by strong bamboos driven firmly into the earth parallel to each other. The passenger places himself between the parallel ropes within the hoop, on the lower rim of which he is seated and holding a rope in either hand pulls himself across. To the hillmen this is a sufficiently easy process, and they perform it without the slightest apprehension: but to any one who has never before trusted himself upon such an equivocal machine, over a deep and impetuous torrent at an elevation of from eighty to a hundred feet, it is a matter of no ordinary peril. Nothing can be well conceived more appalling than, hanging over the tremendous abyss supported by two small ropes and a hoop, to cast the eye down upon the hissing flood beneath tossed and agitated into innumerable whirlpools by the narrowness and asperity of the channel, the whole machine fearfully vibrating and threatening to give way at every impulse of the wind, which frequently whistles over the trembling passenger with most menacing violence. . .

After a short progress we reached a chasm above which the mountain rose to an immense attitude and we had to ascend its steep sides by a path so narrow as only to admit one passenger in line. A broad cataract bounded over the precipice up the side of which we were ascending (71). . .

Upon the sixth day after we quitted Hurdwar we entered Serinagur. During the whole of the march of the preceding day the snowy range had been distinctly visible. . .

Shortly after our arrival at Serinagur we were introduced to the Rajah. We found him an intelligent person, courteous in his manners, and of easy, unembarrassed address. His countenance indicated no particular kind of character, yet was by no means deficient in intelligence. His manners inspired confidence, and he received us with an undissembled welcome. He was frank and free, though somewhat effeminate, giving great attention to his dress which was evidently arranged with much care. He wore large gold bangles on his wrists, while his fingers were covered with rings of different shapes and weight, composed of the same metal.

The inhabitants of Serinagur appeared to be a mixed race, exhibiting in their features the blended lineaments of highlander, lowlander, Pathan, Tartar, Chinese and Hindoo; and often showing the especial peculiarities of these several races. Their complexions are swarthy, though in a slight degree, and they have very little beard; yet when they possess more than the usual superfluity, it is a good deal prized by them. They are upon the whole a most inoffensive race, and though not deficient in courage to make resistance when attacked, they have displayed very little ingenuity in devising the most effectual

(71) Here follows a description of the descent from the *khud*, by means of a rope, of a coolie to recover a small portmanteau which had dropped from his shoulders. The depth of the descent is given as two hundred feet. This passage, together with another relating to the prevalence of goitre in these hills, is omitted as a digression.



SRINAGAR IN GARHWAL.

(From a Photograph taken by F. C. Scallan on Sept. 24, 1922).

means of defence, considering the advantages which their mountains afford them.

On the second day after our arrival the Rajah paid us a visit in form, accompanied by the principal officers of his court. There was however very little ceremony observed upon what might be considered a state occasion,—for he came in full court costume. At our first visit we had presented him with a pair of pistols and a watch: the latter he now brought with him, requesting us to explain how it performed its movements. . . After the powers of the watch had been explained to the Rajah a little gunpowder was presented to him with the strength of which he seemed surprised as that made by the natives in far less efficacious than the powder manufactured in Europe. . . We shortly after parted with mutual expressions of kindness and good wishes.

Before we quitted Serinagur we visited the Rajah's stables in which was a beautiful animal of the bovine species called a yak (72). . .

After remaining a few days at Serinagur, where we were treated with great kindness by the Rajah, we set out on our return towards the plains. We reached Nujibabad in about four days, pitched our tents, and made a short stay there. It is a small town built by Nujib ul Dowlah, a Rohilla chief of some note in his day, for the purposes of attracting the commerce between Cashmere and Hindostan. It is situated about twenty miles to the S. E. of Hurdwar and is ninety-five miles from Delhi. . . The streets are in general broad, regular and remarkably clean for an Indian town. They are divided by barriers at different intervals, forming distinct bazars in which the scene is sufficiently busy, though much less variety is displayed there than formerly. The situation of the town is low and its surrounding country swampy. . .

In the neighbourhood of Nujibabad are the remains of some fine buildings and just without the town is seen the tomb of its founder, Nujib ul Dowlah. . . It is a square building flanked with four cupolas stuccoed with chunam and having a dome covered with the same material rising out of the centre (73). . . This monument stands upon the border of a lake which when swelled by the rains almost washes the lateral wall on the southern side. . . The view of the distant mountains from the plain on which this mausoleum stands is grand in the extreme. . .

During our stay at Nujibabad the thermometer in our tents was occasionally as high as 105 degrees.

(72) An engraving by R. Wallis of William Daniell's drawing of "The Yak of Thibet" is given opposite page 28. Thirteen pages are occupied with an account of the Gurkha War of 1814, including Sir Rollo Gillespie's capture of the fort of Kalunga: and also with some moralizing on the characteristics of "the natives of this wild and inhospitable country," such as female infanticide.

(73) An engraving by S. H. Kernot of William Daniell's sketch of the tomb appears opposite page 62.

E.—THE RETURN TO CALCUTTA.

(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1835, PP. 67—153).

UPON our departure from this town [Najibabad] we proceeded to Kerutpoor, a distance of about twelve miles. . . At Chandpoor, (74) our next halting place, we received much attention from the chief of the district to whom we had letters of introduction. . . Upon quitting Chandpoor we passed through large tracts of jungle. . . On approaching the Ganges we found the country more open and agreeable. . . At Sumbal there is a mosque of considerable beauty, though not much respected, built by the unfortunate but virtuous Humayun (75). . . We crossed the Ganges at the Depour gaut, proceeded to Anopshur, a military station above Futtoghur, and after a progress of four days, crossed the Kyratta gaut on the Jumna and entered the still splendid capital of the Mogul Empire. But Delhi is no longer what it was during the domination of the house of Timour. Its glory has departed though it is magnificent even in its decay.

We saw much more of Delhi on our return than on our upward journey : for we made a longer stay there. One of the most striking objects in the modern city is the tomb of Sufter Jung (76). . . Before we quitted this neighbourhood we visited the fort of Toglakabad, at the extremity of one of the Mewat hills, not far from the city (77). . . After quitting this interesting capital of a once flourishing but subverted Empire, on passing Firoz Shah's cotilla (or fortified house), a few leagues from Delhi (78) our attention was arrested by a pillar consisting of a single stone forty-six feet high and upwards of ten

(74) In the Bijnor district, " Gate of Serai at Chandpore in the Rohilla district " is the title of a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1807. Amroha in the Moradabad district was next passed : see Thomas Daniell's Academy picture in 1813 : " The Eedgah, a place designed for the performance of solemn festivals by the professors of the Mahomedan religion, near Amrooah in the Rohilla district." Sketch No. 10 in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* represents : " Gate of a Mosque built by Hafez Ramut at Pillibeat," which however lies beyond Bareilly and well off the line of route. Bisauli in the Budaon district must also have been visited : Academy picture by Thomas Daniell in 1799 : " Mahomedan Buildings at Bissowles in Rohilcund."

(75) Baber is buried at Sumbal (Sambhal) in the Moradabad district. William Daniell took a sketch of the tomb : and an engraving is given opposite p. 3 of the " Oriental Annual " for 1838.

(76) Safdar Jung, Subadar of Oudh, and Vizier of the Empire was the son of Saadat Khan, the founder of the family. He died in 1756 and was succeeded by Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh whose name is so prominently connected with that of Hastings and the Rohilla War of 1774. An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by W. Daniell of the " Mausoleum of Sufter Jung, Delhi " is given opposite page 96.

(77) The fortress of Tughlakabad was built by Tughlak Shah (1321-1325). In the " Oriental Annual " for 1837 engravings are given from drawings by William Daniell of a " Patan Tomb at Tughlakabad, old Delhi " (p. 95) and of the " Mausoleum of Tughlak Shah, Tughlakabad " (p. 175).

(78) " The Western Gate of Firoz Shah's cotilla, Delhi " is the subject of a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1807. Sketch No. 7 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* " represents " Remains of an ancient building near Firoz Shah's cotilla at Delhi (three miles from the Fort of Shahjehanabad which is the modern Delhi)."

in circumference at the base. There are many inscriptions upon the pillar which it has baffled the ingenuity of the learned to decipher (79). . . We now followed the course of the Jumna to the Chauter Serai, built by Asuf Khan, brother to the celebrated Noor Jahan. . . The morning after our halt at this interesting spot, Mr. Daniell and myself rose early in order to indulge ourselves with a sight of the beautiful prospect round us (80). . . We were induced to extend our halt near the Chauter Serai in consequence of a hunting party having arrived in the neighbourhood which we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity of joining (81). . . Upon quitting the Chauter Serai, we reached Mathura. Here is a very magnificent mosque, said to have been built by Abdulnubbi Khan, a foudar (or officer in charge of a troop of elephants) of the Emporor Aurangzeb (82). . . From Mathura we proceeded towards the capital of the province. . . From Agra we crossed the Jumna and proceeded by the usual route to Futtyghur. Here we were most hospitably entertained for several days by the commanding officer of a small detachment stationed in the town, which is one of several military depôts on the Ganges. From Futtyghur we crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Lucknow on the Goomty. We reached Lucknow just as the Newaub was passing down the Goomty in his state barge, the Moah Punkee (83). . . (Here follows a description of the animal fights for which the Nawab's Court was famous.) Among the architectural objects worthy of notice at Lucknow is a Mausoleum erected to the memory of a female relative of Nawaub Asoph ud Dowlah (84). . . Lucknow is about six hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta, and is consequently much visited by many residents of the Presidency, especially by ladies as anxious to see the elephant fights and other novelties for which this city is celebrated, as those of the sterner gender. . . The day before we quitted Lucknow we paid a visit to the Nawaub to take leave and thank him for his hospitality. . . He received us with great complacency and kindness and after a few minutes' conversation on indifferent topics we withdrew. Upon quitting the Newaub we repaired to the garden of the palace, which was laid out with great magnificence and taste. The buildings are merely garden-houses constructed

(79) The allusion must be to the Asoka pillar, near Delhi: There are two of these, brought thither by Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-1370), one from Topra in the Umballa district and the other from Meerut. Firoz Shah built a new Delhi which he called Firozabad.

(80) An engraving by J. H. Kernot of a drawing by W. Daniell of "The Agra Gate, Chauter Serai" is given opposite page 106. The modern Chhata.

(81) Thomas Daniell exhibited a picture entitled "Tiger hunting in the East Indies" at the Royal Academy of 1799: and William Daniell a picture with a similar title "Tiger hunting in India" at the Royal Academy of 1835. The former was in the possession of the late Mr. George Lyell ("Tiger in the Jungle"): see Journ. Ind. Art. 1912 Vol. V. No. 117 p. 13. The latter is in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore.

(82) An engraving by J. H. Kernot of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Mosque at Muttra in the province of Agra built in the reign of the Emperor Aurungzebe" was shown at the Royal Academy of 1834.

(83) An engraving by R. Brandard of a drawing by W. Daniell of "The Moar-punkee, Lucnow" is given opposite page 128.

(84) An engraving by W. J. Cooke of a drawing by W. Daniell of a "Mausoleum at Lucnow" is given opposite, p. 138.

of brick and beautifully stuccoed with chunam: they are raised on chaupoures (chabutras) with steps to ascend from the garden to the first storey (85). Quitting Lucknow, we proceeded to Juanpore. . . The landscape between Lucknow and Juanpore, especially near the former city, presents at times the same artificial appearance as an English park. Upon our approach to Juanpore, several old mosques for which it is remarkable, rose sublimely in the distance. As we approached the bridge they opened in full view and forced from us an exclamation of involuntary surprise. The Atoulah Khan Musjid is . . . only second in magnificence and in the costliness of its materials to the celebrated Taje Mahal. . . The most gorgeous portion of the interior is the central aisle (86). . . During our stay at Juanpore, we were so annoyed by white ants, that we were glad to escape from this intolerable nuisance and proceed on our way to Benares. . . After we quitted Juanpore nothing occurred worth recording till we came in sight of Benares. . . As we approached the city we were induced to moor our budgerow and land, in order that we might see the Churrack Puja. . . The penitentiary was a handsome man, in the full vigour of manhood, and who had lost his caste by eating interdicted food during a voyage from Calcutta to China, whether he had gone as servant to the captain of a ship. . . On landing at Benares we passed a ruined bridge over the Bernar, one of the rivers from which the city takes its present name, and pitched our tents near the Bernar Pagoda. (87) We were so near it as to be considerably incommoded by the swarm of devotees who frequented it with a most boisterous piety. . . We therefore struck our tents, crossed the river, and pitched them opposite Aurangzeb's mosque. (88) On quitting Benares, which we did after a halt of a few days, we directed our steps to Rhotas Gur, one of the most romantic spots south of the Himalaya mountains. . . On the third day after quitting Benares, we crossed the bridge at Mow, near Bidzee Gur, and ascended the hill. On reaching the fort in which the rebel Cheit Singh had deposited his treasures in 1781, we found it in a state of great dilapidation. (89) On descending the hill we proceeded to the Eckpouah ghaut through an agreeable wood that terminated within a mile of it. . . Immediately below this pass was a rich dell thickly wooded. . . A deep and rapid nullah foamed beneath. . . On the right were bold precipitous rocks. . . On the left were gently undulating hills, the distance terminating with the valley through which the river Soane winds its placid course. . . In the neighbourhood of Sasseram, where we halted for a day, we found many fine subjects for the pencil. . . The Zemindar of Akbarpoor,

(85) An engraving by R. Brandard of a drawing by W. Daniell of a "View in the Garden of the Palace, Lucknow" is given opposite page 172.

(86) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Interior of a Mosque, Juanpore" is given as a frontispiece to the volume.

(87) An engraving by R. Wallis of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Bernar Pagoda, Benares," is given opposite page 190.

(88) An engraving by G. Hollis of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Mosque at Benares" is given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1834 opposite page 127.

(89) An engraving by M. J. Starling of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Hill Fort of Bidzee Gur" is given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1834, opposite p. 175.

a village at the foot of the hill on which the fort Rhotas stands, very obligingly sent us two or three men to guide us to the summit . . . about nine hundred feet above the level of the plain. . . At length we entered the fort, which is gained by a flight of winding stairs through a gateway flanked on either side by a wall of vast thickness that abuts each side upon a precipice (90). . . Quitting Rotas Gur, on our way to Patna, we halted at Gyah, where there are several majestic ruins. At Muddenpoor, a village in the neighbourhood of Gyah, we visited a Hindoo temple formerly in high repute, though now in a state of dilapidation. There are several small trees growing out of the tower, which rises to a great height above the body of the temple, and . . . is surmounted by a small fluted dome. This temple which is built without cement. . . Stands on an eminence at some distance from the public road. . . The view from this spot is hardly inferior to that seen from the summit of Rhotas Gur (91). . . From Gyah we proceeded a few miles out of our direct route to Bode Gyah where there is one of the most celebrated temples to be found in Hindustan (92). . . The temple is entirely deserted: years have rolled away since the knee of the worshippers has bent before its altars. . . . From Bode Gyah we made the best of our way to Patna, where our budgrow was waiting for us, and thence dropped down the river to Rajemah'l. Here we crossed the Ganges and proceed in our palankeens to the ruins of Gour, once the capital of Bengal, and about thirty miles from Rajemah'l. . . Nothing scarcely remains of the old city except a few solemn ruins. One of the gateways is still a magnificent object. . . The arch is upwards of fifty feet high and the wall of immense thickness (93). . . The morning after we reached Gour we went out, as was our usual practice, with guns, but the jungle was so rank and the swamps so dangerous that we were glad to return. On our way back a large wild sow was shot at by Mr. Daniell, and wounded in the hind leg. She was so much disabled that she could not make her escape: but . . . she turned upon the person who approached to despatch her, with a ferocious activity, her jaws covered with foam. . . . A second shot broke the other hind leg. . . She nevertheless contrived to scramble into a ditch filled with tall jungle grass. . . The grass was soon plucked up. . . when she literally sprang upon her assailant on her two stumps. . . The men attacked her with bamboos and having broken one of her forelegs she was despatched (94). . .

(90) An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Kutwhuttea Gate, Rotas Gur" appears opposite p. 210.

(91) An engraving by R. Wallis of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Hindoo Temple at Muddunpore, Bahar," is given opposite p. 222.

(92) An engraving by W. J. Cooke of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Great Temple at Bode Gyah" is given opposite p. 232.

(93) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Kutwallee Gate, Gour," is given opposite p. 244.

(94) A picture by Thomas Daniell entitled "Wild Boar in the Jungle at Gaur" was in the possession of the late Mr. George Lyell (see Journ. Ind. Art. 1912, Vol. XV, No. 117, p. 13). It does not appear to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy.

On the following day we returned to our budgerow and proceeded leisurely down the Ganges. Not far from Rajemah'l, we were overtaken by a severe squall. . . Our budgerow struck against the bank and received a severe shock, the water making its way so rapidly that we were obliged to keep two men constantly empowered in taking her out. Our patilla, or baggage boat, was swamped and went to the bottom with everything we possessed in the world, except our papers and drawings which we happened luckily to have on board the budgerow. The patilla was considerably astern of us when she went down, nor were we conscious of the accident until we had moored for the night. . . Next morning we proceeded up the river in search of our sunken boat and at length saw her mast just above water near the opposite shore. . . . Having got into a small boat, we made for the spot, and with the assistance of our dandies succeeded in saving a portion of our things from the wreck, though many were irrecoverable. . . . On the morrow we floated again upon the broad bosom of the Ganges, which was hourly widening. . . On the fifth day after we quitted Gour we reached Calcutta, from the splendour of its buildings now called the City of Palaces, though within a century it was nothing better than a rude straggling town without regularity or beauty, containing indeed a dense population and surrounded by a dreary and unwholesome jungle, the haunt of robbers and the abode of beasts of prey (95).

(95) An engraving by W. J. Cooke of a drawing by William Daniell of "Calcutta from Garden-house reach" is given opposite p. 254.

The Last Will and Testament of Mr. G. F. Grand.

READERS of Dr. Busteed's delightful "Echoes from Old Calcutta" will remember that the fate of Mr. Grand is left indeterminate. We last hear of him there as Inspector of Woods and Lands at the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1812 Sir James Mackintosh records in his Memoirs that on his journey home from Bombay his ship put in at the Cape where he met Mr. Grand at the African Club. In 1815, the anonymous author of a book entitled "Sketches of India, etc.," speaks of meeting Mr. Grand who poured out his woes to a sympathetic listener. "I found him the gentleman and much esteemed."

From the *Cape Town Gazette* of January 22, 1820, we learn of his death. "17th January. At 11 o'clock in the night of the 17th instant George Francis Grand, Esq., aged 71, a Gentleman, who, to the termination of a long life, chequered with vicissitudes, under which ordinary minds would have sunk, retained the active feelings of good will, and the elastic cheerfulness, which belong to youth and prosperity. Hospitable, while he possessed means, always gentlemanlike and agreeable, Mr. Grand will be long regretted by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance."

The same issue contains the following obituary notice:—"Died on the 17th instant at 11 at night George Francis Grand, Esq., aged 71. A loss his widow cannot announce to relatives and friends but with the deepest and most unaffected sorrow, Cape Town, 19th January 1820. E. S. P. Grand born Bergh." (This is repeated in Dutch.)

The widow's name was Egberta Sophia Petronella, baptised September 23, 1781, eldest daughter of Egbertus Bergh and Adriana Sophia van Reede of Oudtshoorn. The original Bergh was Olof Bergh of Gotherberg, Military Captain in the Dutch East India Company's service, who came to South Africa about the year 1680 and married Anna de Koningh (see *Geslacht—Register der Oude Kaapsche Familier—Kaapstad* 1893).

The Will is to be found in a copy in the Master's Office 81 225 to 229
1820
The last Will of George Francois Grand is dated August 18, 1818 and the notarial execution thereof Wednesday, October 7 of the same year; and it is what is called a "closed will," the document being sealed up together with annexures and deposited with the notary on the last named date. The Testator "being confined to bed from illness of body, though, thank God, perfectly sound in mind," appoints his beloved wife Egberta Sophia Petronella Grand born Bergh "sole heiress and executrix to all my personal and real property and what may devolve to me from the amount in the stocks of England which my sister Mrs. Bell may leave, charging my said wife only to pay out of it four hundred pounds sterling to Mr. Francis Corevon of Yverdun, Canton of Vaud, in Switzerland, Greffier, or to his Heirs, Executors or Assigns."

*A Paper read at the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Calcutta in January 1923.

The Codicil is dated August 27, 1818: "As it has pleased God to give me more strength of Body than I had on that day, I enter now more largely into the particulars which guide me on that occasion." After the discharge of the abovementioned sum of £400, "whatever remaineth is exclusively my wife's to enjoy the interest thereof during her life," the corpus "to the children of my nephew Mr. Corevon in equal portions." Mrs. Bell's money in the English stocks was relinquished to her by her brothers (including the testator). The testator desires it all to go, on Mrs. Bell's death, to his widow and confides that Mrs. Bell will dispose of it accordingly.

The testator refers to the insanity of his unfortunate son, Major George Robert Grand of the Madras Establishment. The testator charges "Oloff Bergh, LL.D., my wife's brother, Mr. George Thomas, my agents, as well as Mr. Egbertus Bergh, my wife's father, should he survive me, to employ all his and their interest both in Holland and England to obtain some remuneration to my large claims on the East India Company (*vide* Narrative)." *N.B.*—No Narrative is annexed to the Will.

"Finally I request my first wife, since the Princess of Talleyrand, to extend a portion of the annuity which out of consideration and regard for my conduct towards her during my Prosperous Career in Life she tendered in my adversity, *viz.*, as is comprised in my Narrative, a handsome pension for life to enjoy when I pleased, I entreat her with my last Breath to allow half the said amount to my present and second wife during her Life and in assurance of the sentiments and goodness which during a happy time I experienced with my first wife that she was blessed with, I comfort myself whilst still living that my Prayer and Intreaty to Her will not have been made in vain."

There are annexures to the Will. "A" is a Memorandum as follows:—"That I was not a bad unfeeling Brother nor an indisposed son when the means were afforded me. I paid all my mother's and sister's expenses in bringing them from Switzerland to Beverley in Yorkshire in the year 1775. . . . I gave my sisters Elizabeth and Jennie sums of money. I helped my sister Susan, the late Mrs. Ledlie, to procure her Indian outfit." (The Narrative mentions on page 57 that "the old lady my mother made her election of Beverley in Yorkshire for her future residence.")

Annexure B is a letter in French from his first wife, dated October 14, 1800. le 14 Octobre.

Precis: I have obtained a divorce d'après les loix du Pays ou J'avais pris mon domicile. The decree is dated 18 germinal an 6, soit du 8 avril 1798. This releases me, but does it release you in England? I will take all necessary steps.

Ce n'est pas sans regret que je vous communique ma determination tout à fait irrevocable, mais J'aime à espérer que vous rendrez justice à ces Regrets comme à tous les sentimens que je conserverai pour vous.

N. C. WORLEE,

In dorso docketed: In answer to my letter of June 1800 on the subject of a divorce.

Annexure "C" is an earlier letter from the same lady, dated June 10, the year being evidently 1800.

le 10 Juin.

On m'a remis, Monsieur, une lettre de vous et son duplicata à laquelle je puis répondre mieux que personne, vous demandez s'il est vrai que je sois remariée. Je dois vous déclarer que je ne le suis pas (1). J'ai appris avec plaisir par Mr. Archdekin que vous étiez arrivé en Europe en bonne santé. Je vous souhaite toute sorte de bonheur. Je vous prie de dire à Mr. Archdekin que je lui répondrai lorsque la personne de qui dépend ce qu'il désire sera ici.

N. C. WORLEE-GRAND.

N.B.—This message was to intimate to Mr. Archdekin that so soon as Bonaparte returned to Paris application would be made by her to him for a passport to enable Archdekin to visit the south of France, Nice, for the benefit of his health.

Nothing seems to be known of Mr. Archdekin except his participation in the events of December 8, 1778, when the Narrative records (pp. 84, 85): "I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee bound to a chair and endeavouring to obtain from my servants his release, with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him, joining in the same prayer and entreaty." This would indicate that he had died before 1808, when according to the advertisement the Narrative was brought to a close.

Annexure "D" is a brief letter dated Southampton, October 26, 1814. "My dear Brother, Sister Jane is insane in an asylum at Bedford. She is a great expense, etc. (Signed) E. Bell."

Certain additional information is obtained from Calendars, etc., in the Public Library, Capetown. In 1805 his name appears as Consulting Councillor or Raad Consulent in the Governorship of Jan Willem Janssens. On the 6th of April 1806 after the Cape of Good Hope had been taken over by the British Mr. G. F. Grand was appointed Inspector of Government Woods and Lands in the room of Mr. G. H. Cloete who had resigned the post, Grand being described as late Counsellor Extraordinary to the Batavian Government. His name figures in the African Court Calendar for the year 1807. In the next Calendar this office of Inspector is held by J. P. Baumgardt, Esq. The first Directory appears in the African Court Calendar for 1812. In that year and continuously up to 1820 the entry is

George Francois Gyand 29 Heeregragt.
Heerengracht is now Adderley Street, the principal Commercial thoroughfare in Capetown.

(1) Madame Grand married Talleyrand on September 9, 1802 (22 Fructidor An X.)

It may be as well here to dispel the statement which Dr. Busteed found on a pasted-in flyleaf in the British Museum Copy of the Narrative written in a senile hand signed Jno Row that "the annexed Narrative was the first book printed in English at the Cape of Good Hope." Many books were published in Capetown before 1814 (see Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography, Vol. I, Kegan Paul & Co., 1910). There was no time to trace out the place of Grand's burial. The old Cemetery in Somerset Street has been lately disused, and many of the monuments removed to "Maitland," the others built into the Wall.

From the Last Will and Testament certain interesting facts emerge. Firstly that Mr. Grand was in receipt of a handsome pension from his first wife. He speaks on the last page of his Narrative "of the generosity of a Friend who had a lively remembrance of attachment and obligation for the conduct which I had observed during prosperity" and of being "offered by the same liberal friend a handsome pension to live in ease and to enjoy for the remainder of my days where the local was most agreeable." Although the bounty was tendered to him by "the warmest friends of my youth" Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Wombwell (2) "I rejected this munificence." Apparently the rejection did not last for long.

The second fact is the reference to his son. All that can be found of this person is the information given in Dodwell & Miles' Alphabetical List of Officers in the Indian Army. He was a cadet in 1796, ensign August 17, 1797, Lieutenant, October 12, 1789, Captain, September 21, 1804, and Major, November 6, 1811. On November 7, 1811, the day after he attained his Majority he was invalided in India and was struck off September 25, 1823, in England. Mr. William Foster, Keeper of the Records in the India Office, whom I addressed in the matter, states that there are no Cadet Papers in his case and no other information about his parentage; nor is his baptism recorded in their ecclesiastical returns. In the Army List of 1800 his name appears as Lieutenant in the 12th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

(2). John Wombwell was a fellow-passenger of Grand when he embarked (for the second time) for India on board the *Greenwich* (676 tons, Captain Robert Carr) which sailed from Falmouth for "the Coast and Bay" on January 7, 1776. Grand had received a writership on the Bengal establishment "on the list of 1776": and Wombwell, according to Grand (Narrative, p. 66) had run through his money and was glad to accept a similar appointment which was obtained for him by his cousin, Sir George Wombwell (Director from 1766 to 1768, and again from 1775 to 1783: Chairman of the Court in 1777, and also in 1778). He subsequently became Company's Accountant at Lucknow, and figures in Zoffany's famous picture of Colonel Mordant's "Cock Match" with the Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-Daula. Zoffany also painted him in a group with Claud Martin, Colonel Anthony Polier and the artist himself. Although not an "Old Westminster," he was one of the two or three outsiders who joined with Warren Hastings' former schoolfellows in presenting him with a silver cup. Wombwell's father and Grand's father were partners, with Mr. Coxon, the British Consul at Alicante in Spain, in the firm of Wombwells, Grand and Coxon, of London and Alicante (ibid: p. 66 note).

The question naturally arises: was he a son of Madame Grand or not? Mr. Grand in the postscript to his Narrative calls God to witness that to his knowledge he never saw the first Mrs. Grand neither in India nor in Europe "from that melancholy Sunday, viz., December 13th, 1778, the sensations of which day I have described, and which fixes our eternal separation." There seems to be no hint of a child being in existence at the time of the Francis scandal or subsequently. The puzzle only leaves the romance of Madame Grand more romantic still.

A word or two in conclusion as to the brothers and sisters of our hero. He had two brothers in the Bengal Army. Lieut. Robert Edward Grand of the First Regiment of Native Cavalry, was killed in action on March 4, 1782, in an action against some rebellious Zamindars in the Juanpore district which is apparently the old name for Benares. Another brother, John Edmund Grand of the Bengal Artillery, who was Lieut. Fireworker in 1778, died at Cawnpore on June 13, 1793 (3).

Three sisters at least are known of. Susan in 1786 married Robert Ledlie (4) a Barrister, 23 years her senior and died in Calcutta on July 26, 1800, "on the 33rd of her age." Elizabeth who was in Calcutta with her sister in 1800 married Lieut.-Col. Bell of the Northumberland Greys and is the Mrs. Bell referred to more than once in the Will. Lastly there is Jennie or Jane, the second lunatic in the family. She was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta on July 6, 1799 to Lieut. John Peregrine Reed, who himself died at Barrackpore on July 20, 1802.

So ends the last chapter in the life of a person who whatever his vicissitudes can only be described as a futile fellow. Mirza Abu Taleb who travelled with him in the same ship from Calcutta to Dover in 1799 describes him as a very passionate and delicate gentleman of an enormous size. This confirms the story told by Mr. Grand against himself that when he went to interview Lord Cornwallis at Calcutta in 1792 his Lordship even deigned a smile saying that it seemed to him that the good fat beef for which Patna stood renowned had agreed very well with him.

J. J. COTTON,
Madras Civil Service.

(3. According to the late Mr. E. W. Madge (Narrative, p. 303, note) the Bengal Directories for 1800 and 1801 contain the name of William Grand, indigo manufacturer, Lelaugur.

(4). Robert Ledlie died in Calcutta on November 24, 1809, at the age of 65. He was then holding the appointments of Master in Equity, Accountant-General, and Keeper of Records in the Supreme Court. The date of his marriage with Susan Grand explodes the story, given in a pamphlet entitled *The Memoirs of the Ledlie Family* (see Narrative, p. 301, note) that he came out to India in 1786 in the same ship with Lord Cornwallis. It is stated in the same pamphlet that he became Judge Advocate-General of the Supreme Court at Fort William, "a splendid appointment. . . . worth £10,000 a year." According to Captain R. W. Eastwick (*A Master Mariner*, p. 124) Ledlie was an early friend of the Duke of Wellington. "On our arrival at Garden Reach, Colonel Wellesly asked me to land with him at the house of his friend, Mr. Ledley, whose beautiful mansion was built close to the river bank."

The Indian Historical Records Commission.

FIFTH SESSION.

THE Indian Historical Records Commission was, as stated in my previous article, (1) constituted in 1919 for encouraging historical research in India. With this object it meets annually at different centres of intellectual activity in India. The fifth session of the Commission was held at Calcutta on the 12th of January last and the proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. Simultaneously with the meeting of the Commission a highly interesting exhibition of records, deeds, manuscripts, paintings and other historical relics supplied by official departments and by private individuals, was held.

The session was opened by His Excellency the Governor, who in his address, after welcoming the members of the Commission to Calcutta, gave a succinct account of the two important Government archives at Calcutta, viz., the Imperial Record Department and the Historical Record Room of the Government of Bengal. His Excellency brought into prominence the vast wealth of material which is available in these archives for the use of historical research students, possessing as they do, the entire history of the doings of the East India Company down to 1858. His Excellency also reviewed briefly the work that had already been done by these Record Departments to render the contents of the records accessible to the public and paid, in this connection, a high tribute to the indefatigable labours of Archdeacon Firminger in the Bengal Record Room. He expressed satisfaction at the revival of the Calcutta Historical Society under the stimulus of the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, who was a member of the Commission, and who had always taken a keen interest in old Calcutta. His Excellency hoped that the learned societies of Calcutta, viz., the Historical Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, would fully utilize the wealth of information contained in the old records of Government. In conclusion he referred to the Exhibition of documents, paintings and other historical relics, which had been arranged in connection with the meeting.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., thanked His Excellency, on behalf of the Commission, for his kindness in opening the proceedings. He and the members of the Commission then showed the various exhibits to His Excellency. After His Excellency's departure, the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton presided over the meeting of the Commission. Altogether there were fifteen

(1) See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 70.

interesting papers but all could not be read out in full for want of time. Some of the more important ones are noticed below :—

1. *The affairs of the English Factory at Surat, 1694-1700* (from original Persian records) by Prof. J. N. Sarkar.

The author stated that during the above period the Surat Factory was in a bad way owing to slackness of trade and lowness of finance due to the jealousy of the rival New Company. "The chief harm, however, to the English, and indeed to all the European traders (though in varying degrees) resulted from the reaction against European piracy in the Indian Ocean." The history of the Surat Factory for the period appears in published works like J. Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar* (1907) Arnold Wright's *Annesley of Surat and his times*, (1918), and the dry *Annals of Bruce* (1810). "But the writers of these works have utilized the English records only. Hence, they have failed to take note of the other side of the case, and to describe the attitude and views of the Mughal Government from first hand knowledge. For that one must turn to Persian sources of which three are extant, namely—

- (a) 'The Persian Letter-book of the Surat Factory for 1695-6, now in the India Office, London.'
- (b) 'A manuscript entitled *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat* containing short notes and hints dictated by Aurangzeb to his Secretary Inayutullah Khan to be expanded into formal letters and addressed to various public servants. They belong to the years 1700-1705.'
- (c) 'News-letters or bulletins of the daily darbars of Aurangzeb, entitled, *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mualla* (Tod manuscript preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain).'

"A study of these State papers of the Mughal Government side by side with the English records of Surat and Madras during the last decade of the seventeenth century establishes the general correctness of the latter, it also helps to supply many additional details and offers illustrations of the history of the Surat factory as already known to us. From these State papers alone can we learn the Emperor's innermost thoughts, the counsels of his ministers and the Indian point of view, which the Court agents of the English merchants often merely guessed at."

2. *The Last Will and Testament of Mr. G. F. Grand* by Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., (Madras).

Mr. G. F. Grand passed through many vicissitudes in life. Dr. Busteed's account in *Echoes from Old Calcutta* is indeterminate. There he is last spoken of as Inspector of Woods and Lands at the Cape of Good Hope. From the obituary notice in the *Cape Town Gazette* dated the 22nd January, 1820, it appears that he died at Cape Town on 17th January 1820. His last Will, which is a 'closed will' is dated 18th August 1818 and was deposited in the Master's Office.

The interesting facts which emerge from the Will are—first that Mr. Grand was in receipt of a handsome pension from his first wife; secondly that we find a reference to his son Major George Robert Grand of the Madras Army who was insane. "The question naturally arises—was he a son of Madame Grand or not? There is no hint anywhere of a child being in existence at the time of the Francis scandal or subsequently. The puzzle only leaves the romance of Madame Grand more dramatic still." The Will also discloses the fact that Mr. Grand had two brothers in the Bengal Army and three sisters of whom Jane, who was married to Lt. John Peregrine Reed, was the second lunatic in the family.

3. *Original correspondence between the English and the Marathas—*
by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

"The Maratha State Records including foreign correspondence from Shivaji's time were said to be preserved in Rayagad but they were destroyed by two great calamities. In 1690 the fortress was captured by Aurangzeb after the death of Sambhuji and the records were destroyed at that time. Again in 1818, the fortress was blown up by the victorious English on the fall of the Peshwas, when the remaining records were also burned. It may, therefore, be assumed that the original correspondence received by Shivaji perished thus and was lost to the world. The question still remains: What became of the Maratha outward correspondence?" It is just possible that they lie "buried among the heaps of old archives in London, Madras, and Calcutta." Research in this direction seems very desirable. This correspondence would supplement very substantially the materials already available in the Peshwa's Daftar, Poona, and the Bombay Secretariat, for the compilation of Maratha History.

Recent investigations made by Mr. Parasnis have convinced him that regular correspondence passed between the Peshwas and the foreign powers, viz., the English, French and Portuguese. The correspondence was both in English and Marathi. He mentions a number of such letters which have already been brought to light and quotes a few English letters. One of these is a letter from Peshwa Raghunath Rao to King George III, dated the 17th January 1783.

4 *The Genealogy of the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad by*
Mr. P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L.

The Jagat Seths are a very well known family of Bengal. They are also the head of the Jain community in Bengal. The history and doings of the Jagat Seths appear in many published works, but a complete genealogical table of the family is not to be found anywhere. During his search for unpublished Jain inscriptions and manuscripts, buried in Bhandars or in the possession of private individuals, Mr. Nahar came across a "genealogical table with notices of the various members of this interesting family." In 1916 he completed the table, from the materials then available for publication in the late Mr. Little's proposed history of the family. Mr. Little having met

with an untimely death, the table could not be incorporated in his work. Mr. Nahar has since completed the genealogical table utilizing further information subsequently gathered by him.

5. *Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court* by Mr. Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcutta.

Mr. Ahmad indicates briefly the nature of the records in the High Court and points to their importance from the point of view of history and sociology. The records of the two sides of the High Court are kept separate from one another. Those for the Appellate Side are in Mr. Ahmad's charge and they are well cared for. But those for the Original Side are not at present looked after in the manner they should be. He urged the necessity for their proper care as they would otherwise be lost beyond repair.

6. *Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins* by Mr. H. W. B. Moreno, B.A.

In this interesting paper Mr. Moreno traced the origin of the community now known as the Anglo-Indian community. The Anglo-Indians were first officially designated East-Indian and the first recorded attempt made by the members of the community to establish themselves as a separate entity occurred in 1825, when at a meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, the term "East Indian" was favoured, and the East Indian Club was formed. "East Indian" was for some time the generally accepted term, but a change took place later in the nineteenth century, and by 1876 the community was officially described as "Eurasian" and an association formed in that year to represent the community was styled the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association. Towards the end of the century, the term Eurasian was dropped and the Association became the Anglo-Indian Association. This appellation caused endless confusion, owing to its being also applied to Britishers who had retired to England after long residence in India. The term was however officially adopted before the Census of 1911, as a result of the representations of the Anglo-Indian Empire League. Considering that the members of the community are descendants of various bands of European settlers who came to India, viz., Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, Prussians, French, Flemings and British, which is evident from their names, the appellation 'Anglo-Indian' is a misnomer. The more accurate designation should be Euro-Indian or Eurindian. Mr. Moreno also traced the life histories of some of the more prominent families of the community.

7. *The Last Will and Testament of Amir-ul-Omara Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, 1663-77 and 1679-89*, by Khan Bahadur Syed-Abdul Latif, B.L.

Shaista Khan was one of the most capable administrators under the Mughal rule. He served with distinction as Governor of many provinces, but his Viceroyalty of Bengal for nearly a quarter of a century, stands out prominently as one of exceptional brilliance. The history of his career is too well known and needs no repetition. His Last Will—a translation of which is given in his paper by Mr. Latif, was drawn up by Shaista Khan two years before his death

in 1696 A. D. with the object of setting at rest all possibilities of a quarrel among his progeny by distributing himself his properties among them during his own life time. "There are certain matters not yet chronicled by any historian to which this document gives us a clue. For example, the real name of his favourite daughter Bibi Pari, which was 'Iran Dukht,' has been found in this Will. It happily solves the question of identity of Bibi Biban, the lady who lies buried near the Hajiganj Mausoleum close to Narayanganj in the District of Dacca. Antiquarians have hitherto tried to theorise on the matter but in vain. It is, however, distinctly stated in this document that the tomb of Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban, his daughter, lies in the Subah of Jahangirnagar on the bank of the Lakhya. The number of children he had and the *jaigirs* and other personal properties held by him in different parts of India can be gathered from this document. It has clear reference to seven sons, five daughters, one sister, two grandchildren, his father Asaf Khan and grandfather Itimad-ud-Dowla. Nawab Samsam-ud-Dowla Shah Nawaz Khan's famous biographical work, the 'Maasir-ul-Umara, the *magnum opus* which contains the lives of all noblemen, with any pretensions to importance during the Mughal period, gives particulars of only two sons (*viz.*, Iqdat Khan and Abul Fateh Khan) and two daughters who have been mentioned as wives of certain persons. Mr. Bradley-Birt in his *Romance of an Eastern Capital* written on the basis of the latest available materials, mentions 8 sons and 3 daughters. The will under review gives particulars of 7 sons and 5 daughters. It also discloses that he had married several wives, but it has not been possible to ascertain their names and particulars." The document has the seal of the Chief Judge (Qaizi-ul-Quzzat) at the top, showing that registration of deeds was among the functions of Qazis in those days.

8. *Dutch Records from the Dutch and British East India Companies*

Commission's of 1762-63 on their affairs in Bengal, by the

Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J.

In this paper Father Hosten brings to the notice of the Commission the existence in Archbishop Goethals' Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, of a bundle of manuscript papers emanating from the Dutch Commission which in 1762-63 conferred at London with the British Commissaries of the East Indian Company about their difficulties created in Bengal by the Batavia armament of 1759. Archbishop Goethals acquired these papers between the years 1891 and 1894, but it is not known from what source they came. Some of the documents are in French and the others in Dutch. They consist of three portions (1) Letters received in Holland from the Dutch Commission, in London; (2) Copies of letters sent from Holland to the Dutch Commissaries in London and (3) Some detached papers from both sides. Father Hosten attaches an Index to these papers and considers that valuable materials for the history of the two Companies in Bengal at a most critical time would be forthcoming from them if they were properly scrutinised,

9. *Some aspects of the Revenue collection in Bengal immediately after the assumption of the Dewani* by Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E.

In this interesting paper Mr. Ramsbotham elucidates some of the difficulties that confronted the Company's officers and agents in collecting the revenue of Bengal.

10. *Some unpublished Records in connection with the capture of Rohtas in 1764* by Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

A very interesting paper based on some unpublished records.

11. A few words about my *Notes on the Early History of Manipur* may not prove uninteresting to the readers. The history of Manipur will be found in Gait's *History of Assam*, Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Johnstone's *My Experience in the Naga Hills and Manipur* and Brown's *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*. But the early history of the country remains more or less obscure. Official documents recently traced in the Imperial Record Department furnished interesting information about the country which does not appear to have been utilized by any historian before. These notes give a history of the country during the early period, particularly of the time of its first Hindu King, who was originally a Naga. The first diplomatic relations between the Manipuris and the British, the first treaty—offensive and defensive—entered into between them and the possibility of trade between India and China are subjects which are for the first time discussed in this paper.

The Members meeting was held on the 13th January in the Secretary's room. The subjects considered by the Commission and the Resolutions passed on them are now under the consideration of the Government of India. They will be printed later in the official proceedings of the Commission.

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

A special feature of the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, as has been mentioned above, was an Exhibition of documents, paintings and other objects of historical interest. We give below a description of some of the more important exhibits without which no account of the meeting can be complete.

Among the exhibits were a number of documents of historical importance obtained mainly from the Government archives in Calcutta, viz., Imperial Record Department, the Bengal Record Room, the Calcutta High Court and the Sheriff's Office, while public bodies and private individuals exhibited old interesting manuscripts, valuable pictures and other historical relics.

Of the manuscript documents exhibited by the Imperial Record Department special mention may be made of the notes and minutes in which the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck and the members of his Council (of whom the Hon. T. B. afterwards Lord Macaulay was one) discussed the question of promoting European literature and science among the natives of India in 1835, and the minute which the next Governor-General Lord Auckland recorded

on the subject of native education in 1839, the holographs of Lord Clive, the treaty of 1845 with King Christian VIII of Denmark which transferred the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, a letter written in 1773 by Warren Hastings to the Council at Calcutta intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh in consideration for a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees, the *farmans* and *sanads* granted to the East India Company by the Mughal Emperors dating from 1633 and including those by which the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was conferred upon the Company in 1765 and the original Persian letters received from Indian Princes, Chiefs and Nobles, which apart from their historical importance represented fine specimens of calligraphy. Among these letters we find a report from the Muhammadan Judge at Benares notifying the release of the blind Emperor Shah Alam from the custody of his oppressor Ghulam Qadir Khan, negotiations by Tipu Sultan for a treaty of peace with the English, a letter of gratitude from the Maharaja of Mysore on being restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by Haider Ali. The visitors evinced a great deal of interest in the old maps of Calcutta and Fort William, while the seals belonging to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, his sons and officers, attracted much attention.

Side by side with some old and worn out books exhibited by Mr. J. A. Chapman of the Imperial Library as instances of the decaying influence of the Indian climate on paper, the Imperial Record Department demonstrated how the old brittle records of the East India Company had been kept in a state of perfect preservation by a special process of repairing adopted by it and by the proper use of insecticides which kept away termites and other insects. Unfortunately these methods were not introduced sufficiently early but only after some injury had been done to the records by climatic influences. Experience shows that paper, once it has become brittle, keeps well in a moist atmosphere while very dry weather has a tendency to bend or break it.

The exhibits kindly lent by the Government of Bengal comprised the original minutes by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore regarding the permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1789-90), a joint minute by Warren Hastings, Governor-General and Richard Barwell, one of his councillors, on the conduct of W. M. Thackeray, father of Thackeray, the novelist, while Collector of Sylhet (1773), and a number of original *Qistbundis*, *Qabuliats* and other documents in which figured the ancestors of some of the leading *zamindars* in Bengal, e.g. Krishna Kanta Nandi (commonly called Kanto Babu), the well-known Banian of Warren Hastings and founder of the Kasimbazar Raj family, Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur of Burdwan, Maharani Bhawani of Natore, Maharajadhiraj Shib Chandra Bahadur of Nadia. Among the exhibits of the Calcutta High Court the papers relating to the trial of the confederates of Nabob Wazir Ali of Benares (1800), the trial of Mirza Jan *Tapish*, the famous Urdu poet, for conspiracy against the East India Company (1800) were the most important.

Some of the exhibits of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad were of great historical value and dated as far back as 1590. The following were the more

important ones :—Scenes from Vishnupur (Bankura), Brindaban, pictures of the days of Raja Ram Chandra, deeds and documents of great antiquity, Sanskrit texts and Treatises, early numbers of printed Bengali books and periodicals dating from 1778.

A fine collection of architectural paintings including 'A tomb at Jaunpur,' 'Gate at the Fort, Benares,' 'A mosque at Jaunpur,' was exhibited by Mr. R. Chanda of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum.

The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad very kindly lent a rare album of portraits of Ghori Kings prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jehan which was greatly admired by the visitors. The exhibits from the Maharaja of Nadia included the following :—*Farman* from Emperor Jehangir conferring the office of Chaudhuri and Qanungo on Bhattanand Chaudhuri for certain *perganas*, sword presented by Lord Clive to Krishna Chandra with the title 'Maharajendra Bahadur,' the jewelled *Katar* (Dagger) presented by Emperor Jehangir to Maharaja Bhabanand Majumdar. The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur exhibited an old manuscript copy of the Mahabharata written in Deva Nagri characters. Sahibzada Ghulam Husain Shah of the Mysore family kindly lent a sword said to have belonged to Timur which had the following inscription engraved on the blade :—"In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. The hand of God is above their hands. The irresistible sword, the enemy-killer, the victorious, the sword of the king of the kings, the monarch of the monarchs, the Sultan Sahib Qiran, His Majesty Amir Timur. May God perpetuate his kingdom and Empire!" This sword was one of the principal items of attraction at the Exhibition.

Babu Bahadur Singh Singhi's exhibits included the following old valuable family jewels :—An emerald seal of Seth Sumar Chand; an emerald seal of Jagat Seth Kushal Chand and an emerald seal of Rai Hulash Chand, presented by Bahadur Shah the last Emperor of Delhi to Rai Hulash Chand, great grandfather of the Exhibitor on the occasion of conferring the title 'Rai' upon him.

Some fine paintings were exhibited by Mr. A. Stephen. He also lent some historical silverware said to have belonged to the time of Prithiraj and Jehangir. Rai Bahadur M. L. Nahar exhibited some excellent historical pictures. Mr. P. C. Nahar's collection of pictures was unsurpassed in beauty and variety. The *Nauratan* (nine jewels) showing Akbar with his Courtiers was greatly admired. His other exhibits, which aroused a great deal of interest, were the Jain Scrolls and a book on Indian microcosm. Among the documents shown were a *farman* bearing the seal of Emperor Akbar granted to Bhagwan and confirming him in the office of Qanungo for the province of Bengal on 30th September 1591.

Rev. H. Hosten, S. J. exhibited some interesting photographs of pre-Portuguese Christian relics in India, Ceylon, Burma and China.

The session was throughout of an intensely interesting character, and several of those present unhesitatingly declared it to be the most successful of all the meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Company's "Commercial Residents."

A STUDY of the biographical notes appended to the first volume of the Register of Admissions to the College at Fort William, which was printed in the last issue of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 122 to 133), will show that several of the civilians mentioned therein ended their career as "Commercial Residents" at various places such as Patna, Maldah, Cossimbazar, Rungpore, (Rampore) Bauleah, Lukhipore, Comercolly, Santipore, Soonamooky, Radhanagore, Keerpoy, Hurripaul, Golagore, Jungypore, and Surdah.

The first five "factories" stand in no need of identification. A few notes with regard to the others may be of interest. Lukhipore (Lakshmipur) in the Noakhali district is still a busy mart: a cloth factory was established there by the East India Company in 1756. Comercolly (Kumarkhali) is near Kushtia in the Nadia district. Santipore is also in the Nadia district, some sixty miles above Calcutta. It is still a trading town and was the site of one of the principal factories of the company. "The industry of the ages had brought its muslins to the highest degree of perfection," says Thomas Twining, who was deputy to the Commercial Resident in 1794. Tantees (he tells us) wove the fine muslins, and Ruffagurs "finished" them. Soonamooky (Sonamukhi) in the Bankura district is now a centre of the shellac industry. Keerpoy (Khirpai) and Radhanagore are in the Midnapore district, the former near Ghatal. Hurripaul (Haripal) is a village close to the Hindu shrine of Tarakeshwar in the Hooghly district. Golagore (Golaghur) is in the same district near the "Moggura" of Rennell's map (Magra) where the manufacture of cotton colths is recorded as early as 1755. Jungypore (where the Company had a flourishing silk factory) is nowadays the headquarters of a subdivision in the Moorshidabad district. Lastly, Surdah is in the Rajshahye district: the old Residency building here is occupied by the Police Training School.

What were these "Commercial Residencies"? We shall find a clue in Miss Emma Roberts's "East India Voyager" (written in 1839 but published in London in 1845) where information is given by "a gentlemen who has served during a period of fourteen years with the highest credit to himself, as a Judge and Magistrate."

There are only three distinctions as to the line of service—the political, the judicial and revenue, and the commercial. In former days, when the East India Company was a trading corporation, there were many rich and valuable appointments called Commercial Agencies, the officers holding which superintended the advances made to the cultivators of cotton and persons employed in the production of silk, and in due season received the produce and remitted it to Calcutta. The magnitude of the Government interests en-

trusted to these commercial agents, and the sums of money which they had at their disposal, rendered, I presume, these offices of high trust, for they used to be highest in remuneration of the whole service. Yet it seems singular that this should have been so, as the work was most easy and the labour little. The agent had a fine mansion allowed him, he had little trouble in going about to visit his district, and his business was confined to looking over accounts, signing papers, and adjusting petty differences between cultivators: while the real details of the office were conducted by his head officer or *dewan*. . . . Consequently these offices, with much pay and little work, were prizes given to individuals who had good interest, and in this line were made many of those large and princely fortunes which used to astonish the people of England.

THE "KOTHIES" AT SURUL, IN BEERBHOOM.

A good example of the residences in which these Commercial Agents or Residents lived is afforded by the "Kothies" at Surul, near Bolpur, in the district of Beerbhoom. Mr. S. Sinha, Revenue Secretary of the Burdwan Raj, has favoured us with some interesting particulars of these "Kothies."

The "Burra Kothi," which is in a dilapidated condition and stands on the Burdwan-Suri road, in its own grounds of some eighty acres, is distinguished by a white marble tablet (twenty-four inches by eighteen) which is affixed to the western wall and bears the following inscription:

Here Resided
At the end of the 18th Century
Mr. Cheap
The First Commercial Resident
at Surul.

He was highly regarded by the People.

With the history of the Burra Kothi, where a thousand and one looms were once busy weaving *garas* and other cotton and silk piece-goods, is associated the name of the Sinha family of Raipur, of which Lord Sinha is now the head. Baboo Shyam Kishor Sinha, the founder of the family, was the *dewan* of the factory, and used to receive Rs. 1,001 daily from the weavers whom he brought from his native village of Chandrakona. The hand woven *garas* produced by these weavers were dyed blue and sent to England for use in military and naval uniforms.

The Chota Kothi, which was formerly the property of Lord Sinha and is now owned by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, was a sugar factory in the days of the Company. At a later date it was converted by the East India Company into a small railway workshop, which was the nucleus of the present vast organization at Jamalpur. It was known at that time as "Wilson's Kothi," from a gentleman of that name on the Engineering Staff of the Railway.

JOHN CHEAP.

There is a good deal about John Cheap in Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, a book which was originally written in 1868, as the dedication to Sir Cecil Beadon shows. Perhaps the best account is that which is given by Ram Ghulam Bawarchi who at the age of eighty was questioned by the author as to his recollections of the district from 1785 to 1820. The "Cook's Chronicle" is as follows:

The first English lord of Beerbhoom was Keating Saheb (Christopher Keating, Collector from 1788 to 1793): my father was cook to him, and I have seen him. My mother held me up in her arms to look at him when he passed with his sepoy and elephants. . . . I also knew Cheap Saheb. My father went to be his cook when Keating Saheb left. Cheap Saheb was the Company's merchant. He had a great house on the top of a hill, with a wall all round, higher than the ramparts round the fort in Calcutta. Within the wall were gardens and orchards bearing many fruits: also many houses and stores. The Company's cloth was kept there: and the gomastahs and keranies lived in a village within the wall. There were also sepoy to guard the Company's storehouses: and the inferior servants of the Company lived in a town at the bottom of the hill. Cheap Saheb was a rich and powerful Saheb: he had many children, mostly daughters, each of whom had servants of their own. There were six table servants to wait on Cheap Saheb and the Mem Saheb. He had about sixty house-servants in all, with many horses, and an aviary full of strange birds. Deer used to run about in the pleasure-grounds. The Mem Saheb used to be very fond of flowers. He was a great Saheb and I learned my trade in his kitchen.

Afterwards there was a gentleman at Elambazar, on the river, Erskine Saheb, who died not many years ago. He also was a great Saheb, and was in partnership with Cheap Saheb. They traded in many things—in cloth, sugar, silk, etc.—and made much money.

According to Hunter, the sum spent upon the mercantile investment in Beerbhoom varied from £45,000 to £65,000 a year. The Commercial Resident was the real head of the district. He was of longer standing in the service than the Collector and less liable to be transferred: and besides his official pay, he had a large private income, for he was permitted to carry on an extensive business on his own account.

We find Mr. Keating complaining that he can barely subsist on his salary: that the mud tenement in which the Collector lived was letting in water, and tumbling upon his head; and petitioning in vain for a single rood of land on which to build a house. Mr. Cheap, on the other hand, not only made a fortune, and bequeathed the largest indigo plantations in that part of Bengal, but meanwhile lived sumptuously in a pile of buildings surrounded by artificial lakes and spacious gardens, and defended by a strong wall. The ruins crown

the top of a hill visible for many miles, and cover as large a space as the palaces, pavilions, and mausoleums which the princes of Beerbhoom had erected during one hundred years. For nearly a quarter of a century he remained in his palace at Soorool, a visible type of the wealth, magnificence and permanence of the great Company.

The "first attack upon these fat kine" was made, says the informant of Miss Emma Roberts, by "the clipping Dutchman," Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General from 1828 to 1835), who "wisely made friends to himself of the Mammon of Leadenhall Street" by "cutting down all salaries save his own enormous stipend." Nevertheless, they continued to be snug berths until the arrival of the "now Charter" [of 1833] which abolished trading by the Company, except in the case of salt and opium. The Company's commercial concerns were wound up gradually by the Board of Salt, Customs, and Opium, and the buildings and sites were nearly all sold off. "Now" that is to say in 1839, "two or three alone remain." They are "well paid and lucrative appointments but no sinecures, and are usually held by persons high up in the service."

THE COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS.

Another branch of the Company's Commercial Service was concerned with the collection of inland customs. At one time there were fifteen of these collectors statione in the largest towns of India. The system led to much abuse: and it was eventually abolished as the result of a pamphlet published by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Trevelyan, the brother-in-law of Macaulay (who served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1826 to 1842). Two posts alone were retained, the one connected with import and export customs at Calcutta, and the other for the collection of frontier duties in Upper India. Both Commercial Residents and Collectors of Customs continued to draw large emoluments: but the old opportunities for shaking the pagoda tree were gone.

SOME TYPICAL EXAMPLES.

An excellent example of the "commercial civilian" is exhibited by William Bracken whose portrait, executed on a heroic scale by one Kroomholtz, hangs in the Collector's room in the Calcutta Customs House. Bracken arrived in Bengal on June 10, 1827, and commenced his service on February 7, 1828, as Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade. In August of that year he acted as Import Warehouse Keeper, and in November, was sent as officiating Commercial Resident to Jungypore, where he remained a year. He then returned to Calcutta and acted as Deputy Collector of Inland Customs. From 1830 to 1832 he officiated as Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar, Jungypore, and Surdah. The remainder of his service until his retirement on annuity in 1857, was spent in the Customs House at the Presidency. He became acting Collector of Customs in 1837, and held that office for twenty years. His death took place as recently as September 16, 1891. An uneventful career was his: and very unlike that of the civilian on the judicial or executive side,

A similar case is that of Charles Chicheley Hyde, whose service extended from 1811 to 1838. From 1813 to 1819 he was attached to the office of the Export Warehouse Keeper: and from 1819 to 1835 (with an interval of five years, from 1824 to 1829, which he spent in Europe) was Commercial Resident successively at Comercolly (1819), Surdah (1820-24), Jungypore (1829-31), Santipore (1831) and Bauleah (1832-35). He then became Collector of Government Customs at the Presidency, and was Salt Agent of the 24 Pergunnahs and Jessore when he retired on annuity on August 6, 1838. His cognomen of Chicheley would appear to denote some form of connexion with the Plowden family. One member of that family, Richard Chicheley Plowden, was a Director from 1803 to 1829, and died in 1830: and another, William Henry Chicheley Plowden, was a Member of the Court from 1841 to 1853, and died in 1880. It may have been from the former that Hyde obtained his nomination, and secured the diversion of his Indian career into the profitable paths of semi-official commerce.

Among the "commercial civilians" of note was Colin Shakespear (writer 1790) who was appointed Commercial Resident at Soonamooky on April 24, 1828, and died at Berhampore on April 6, 1835. From April 19, 1823, to March 6, 1828, he was "Superintendent General of the Shakespearian Rope Bridges," a post specially created for him. These bridges are mentioned by Heber in his Journal (vol. i. p. 83.) "In passing Cossipoor," writes the bishop, "on my return to Tittyghur, I called on Mr. C. Shakespear, and looked at his rope bridges, which are likely to be most useful, in this country at least, if not in Europe. . . The whole may be made to rest on sat timbers, and, with the complete apparatus of cordage, iron, and bamboos, may be taken to pieces and set up again in a few hours, and removed from place to place by the aid of a few camels and elephants." Describing a bridge of this type, thrown over the Caramnasa, he says: "The span of this bridge, which is strong enough to bear a field piece, is three hundred and twenty feet in length, its breadth eight: its flooring composed of stout bamboos, connected by coir rope, with a network handrail on either side, also of coir, as are the shrouds and principal tackling which support the whole." The late Dr. C. R. Wilson (in his List of Monumental inscriptions in Bengal) advances the theory that Colin Shakespear was a cousin of the author of "Vanity Fair" and the original of Jos Sedley. But Shakespear commenced his service in Bengal in 1790, and was sixty four at the time of his death in 1835. This would carry the date of his birth back to 1771, which was about the time of the marriage of "Sylhet" Thackeray to Amelia Webb. The novelist was born in Calcutta in 1811: and his first cousins who were the children of "Sylhet" Thackeray's daughter Emily, and John Talbot Shakespear (Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear and others) were far younger than Colin Shakespear.

The Editors' Note Book.

THE creation of an Irish Free State has involved, by a crooked destiny, the disappearance from the Army List of six historic battalions which, though provided with Irish titles under the system of territorial nomenclature, are closely associated with the history of the British in India. The connection of the disbanded regiments with Ireland is, indeed, of the faintest character: for they are the direct representatives of the "Company's Europeans", without whom it is safe to say that there would be no British Empire in India. When the Government of India was taken over by the Crown, there were nine regiments of Europeans in the service of "John Company" and these were absorbed into the infantry of the line under the following numbers, the modern designation being added in each case:

Royal Bengal Fusiliers: 101st Foot (1st batt. Royal Munster Fusiliers).
Royal Madras Fusiliers: 102nd Foot (1st batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers).
Royal Bombay Fusiliers: 103rd Foot (2nd batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers).
2nd Bengal Europeans: 104th Foot (2nd batt. Royal Munster Fusiliers).
2nd Madras Europeans: 105th Foot (2nd batt. King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry).
2nd Bombay Europeans: 106th Foot (2nd batt. Durham Light Infantry).
3rd Bengal Europeans: 107th Foot (2nd batt. Royal Sussex Regiment).
3rd Madras Europeans: 108th Foot (2nd batt. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers).
3rd Bombay Europeans: 109th Foot (2nd batt. Leinster Regiment).

Of these the 2nd Madras Europeans, the 2nd Bombay Europeans, and the 3rd Bengal Europeans, alone survive, by reason of the accident which has attached them to English County Regiments: and all are of comparatively modern origin. The traditions of the past are buried with the battalions which have been mustered out.

"LET us praise famous men." So runs the time-honoured invocation at the University Sermon at Oxford. And herein more especially are we "Bengallers" bound to commemorate the doughty deeds of the Munster Fusiliers. Is there any regiment in the British Service (barring the Dublins) which can boast such an array of battles on its colours?

Plassey, Condore, Masulipatam, Badara, Buxar, Rohilcund 1774, Sholinghur, Carnatic, Rohilcund 1794, Guzerat, Deig, Bhurtapore, Ghuznee 1839, Afghanistan 1839, Ferozeshah, Chillianwallah, Goojerat, Punjaub, Pegu, Delhi 1857, Lucknow, Burma 1885—1887, South Africa, 1899—1902,

The record of the Dublins (Clive's Own) is equally glorious :

A Royal Tiger superscribed Plassey. Buxar with the legend "Spectemur Agendo". The Elephant superscribed "Carnatic".

Arcot, Wandewash, Pondicherry, Guzerat, Sholinghur, Nundydroog, Amboyna, Ternate, Banda, Seringapatam, Kirkee, Maheedpore, Beni Boo Alli, Ava, Aden, Mooltan, Goojerat, Punjaub, Pegu, Lucknow, Relief of Ladysmith, South Africa 1899—1902.

Could there be a terser epitome of the rise of the British power in India during the last century and a half? And what shall be said of the further laurels won in the Great War—the landing at Gallipoli in which both Munsters and Dublins gained imperishable renown, and the desperate stand at Etreux during the retreat from Mons, when the Second Munsters, surrounded and almost annihilated, fought to the last against overwhelming odds?

THE history of the Bengal Fusiliers dates back to the year 1652, when an Ensign and thirty men were sent out from England for the protection of the British factory at Hooghly, in days when Job Charnock had not yet cast his eye upon the village of Suttanuttee. By 1756 the thirty men had grown to four companies: and after the arrival of Clive from Madras to recapture the settlement at Fort William, the remnants of these companies together with any Europeans which could be collected, were formed into a battalion which became the Bengal European Regiment and later the Royal Bengal Fusiliers. They fought with the Madras Europeans at Plassey and routed Shah Alum at Buxar. These are famous battles: but how many have heard of the equally brilliant campaign in 1763 under Major Thomas Adams against Meer Cossim, which culminated in the great fight at Oodwa Nullah? With Francis Forde, another forgotten leader who deserves a better fate, they beat the French at Condore and Masulipatam in the Northern Circars and routed the Dutch at Badara, or Biderra, near Chinsurah. Twice they took the field against the Rohillas, and helped Eyre Coote to beat Hyder Ali at Sholinghur. Their next adversaries were the Mahrattas: and they played a full part under Lake in the battle of Deig, when the British troops under continuous cross artillery fire captured four lines of batteries in succession by frontal attacks. They suffered heavily in the four unsuccessful assaults on Bhurtpore in 1805, but earned from Lake the title of the "Dirty Shirts" to which they always clung. Later on in 1826 under Stapleton Cotton, they took their revenge and carried the impregnable fortress by storm. In the First Afghan War, they marched with Keane to Candahar and back to India by way of Ghuznee. With Gough they went through the first Sutlej campaign and ended it as a remnant of 200 men.

THE 2nd Bengal Europeans came into being in 1839 and saw their first great action at the bloody battle of Chillianwallah, and later on at Goojerat, where a real victory was won. Space forbids to speak of the deeds of both regiments during the Mutiny: but this at least must be chronicled. At the time of the Umbeyla Expedition of 1863, the colonel of the Second was Abraham Roberts, the father of "Bobs Bahadur." The colours of these gallant regiments are now in the custody of His Majesty: their trophies are lodged with the United Service Institution in London: and their place in the Army List knows them no more. But their fame endureth for ever.

A FORMER officer of the Munsters informs us that most of the regimental plate dates from the days of the Company. Together with the mess furniture and certain prints of the Mutiny period, this has been placed in the Regimental Club in Whitehall Court. One of the most historic relics is the Drum Major's staff, the head of which was made from a champagne bottle opened after the battle of Chillianwallah by the only two officers who survived. The two older sets of colours, of which one was used by the Bengal Fusiliers, have been sent, one to the Royal Hibernian Academy, and the other to the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster.

THE only King's regiment which is now entitled to blazon the word "Plassey" on its colours is the Dorset Regiment. The first battalion which was formerly the 39th Foot and was originally known as Adlercron's regiment, from the name of its commander, landed at Fort Saint George in January, 1756—"Primus in Indis," as the proud motto still testifies. It had been brought out from England on board the fleet which Admirals Charles Watson and George Pocock had been ordered to take to the Coromandel coast in anticipation of hostilities with the French. The ships had been diverted to the Bombay coast where they had assisted Clive in the reduction of Gheriah the stronghold of the Mahratta pirate Angria: but had returned to Madras and were lying in the roads when the news was received on August 16, 1756 of the capture of Fort William and the tragedy of the Black Hole. Adlercron's regiment was being kept in readiness to march against Bussy who had established himself with a French garrison near Hyderabad. The bad news from Bengal altered their destination and they sailed for the Sandheads on October 16. On January 2, 1757, Calcutta once more fell into the hands of the English. Chandernagore was attacked and Fort Orleans captured on March 22, after a nine days' siege: and on the

morning of June 23, came the final overthrow of Seraj-ud-dowla at Plassey. The most efficient portion of the Nawab's force was a small party of forty or fifty French gunners commanded by M. St. Frais, or Sinfrey. Two of the cannon from their battery may be seen to-day in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

ALTHOUGH Lord Ronaldshay has called his new book "The Land of the Thunderbolt," its pages are not exclusively devoted to Sikkim and Bhutan. He has also something to say about the Bengal jungle : and of the way in which, on the outskirts of the ancient city of Moorshedabad, the forest has completely swallowed up the artillery park of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. One huge cannon (he notes), seventeen and a half feet in length, and five feet in circumference, and weighing seven and a half tons, is left embedded in the trunk of a peepul tree which has wrapped itself about it. "With such examples before one's eyes one realises why there are few historic buildings in Bengal."

INDIA is nevertheless, full of romance. It lurks even in the pages of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, as witness the following extract which may be found under the unpromising heading of Ichhawar, a town of four thousand odd inhabitants in Central India, which has formed part of the Bhopal State since 1818 :—

The Ichhawar *tahsil* was for many years held in *jagir* by the Bhopal Bourbons, who have given a succession of shrewd councillors and valiant soldiers to the State. About 1560 Jean Philippe Bourbon of Navarre, a cousin of Henry IV, came to India. He entered the service of Akbar, married Juliana, said to have been a sister of Akbar's 'Christian wife,' and was created a Nawab. The family continued in the service of the Delhi emperors till 1739, when on the sack of that city by Nadir Shah, they fled to the fort of Shergarh which they held in *jagir* in the territory of the Narwar chief. The family remained in Narwar in safety till 1778, when the Raja, who was jealous of his powerful feudatory, attacked Shergarh and massacred all but four of the family, who managed to escape to Gwalior. After the capture of Gwalior in 1780 by Major Popham, some territory was assigned to them, and soon after Salvador Bourbon took service in the Bhopal State, and became a general in the State army. Salvador's son Balthasar was minister to Wazir Muhammad, and was instrumental in concluding the treaty of 1818 with the British Government, being one of the signatories. During the Mutiny of 1857 the fugitives from Agar were hospitably received by Jean de Silva and several of the Bourbon family who were then residing in the town. Members of the family still live in the State.

The Filose family in the Gwalior State, who are of Neapolitan extraction, furnish another example of the Indianized foreign adventurer: but they are of humble origin. Jean Baptiste Filose, known as Jan Batteejis, served Scindia for no less than forty-seven years, and was commander-in-chief in 1843, at the time of the battles of Maharajpore and Punniar—commemorated by the well-known "Pepper Box" on the Strand Road, outside the Water Gate of Fort William. As he had £40,000 invested in Company's paper, he arranged that he should be locked up by his own men before the fighting with the British began!

MR. ALFRED SPENCER, the editor, and Messrs. Hurst and Blackett, the publishers, of the "The Memoirs of William Hickey" are anxious to trace a portrait of that entertaining individual which, according to his own account, was painted by George Chinnery at Calcutta in February, 1808. It was, says Hickey, presented by the artist to Sir Henry Russell, the uncle of Rose Aylmer, who was Chief Justice of Bengal from 1806 to 1813: and "hung in Russell's dining room in the Court House at Calcutta." The phraseology is peculiar: for Russell did not reside at the Court House. When still a puisne judge, he built the first house in the street which bears his name and was living there when Rose Aylmer was carried in March 1800 from its gates to her grave in the South Park Street cemetery. Tradition assigns the site to the one now occupied by the large house and compound which constitute the headquarters of the Royal Calcutta Turf Club. It was thought by the present writer that Hickey might be alluding to the Chief Justice's private room in the old Supreme Court building which stood in Esplanade West on the same spot as the present High Court: but no such picture is to be found either in the private room now allotted to the Chief Justice of Bengal or anywhere else on the High Court premises. A search in the Victoria Memorial Hall has been equally unsuccessful. The portrait does not appear to have been taken to England by Sir Henry Russell, for the present Lady Russell knows nothing of it. Can any member of the Society throw a light upon the mystery?

It is curious that no portrait should yet have been discovered of the author of these extraordinarily interesting memoirs: for in the second volume which was published in 1818, a most circumstantial account is given (p. 386) of another picture which was painted at Lisbon in 1782 by "Mr. Thomas Hickey a portrait painter with whom my family had been acquainted and done him some service in his profession, but I had never before seen or heard of him." William Hickey and Charlotte Barry, a fair companion of his whom he afterwards married and who died in Calcutta on December 25, 1783, at the age of twenty-one, were waiting in Lisbon for a ship to take them to Bengal, and they eventually obtained a passage in the *Reinha de Portugal*, a vessel

belonging to Luis Barretto, a brother of Joseph Barretto of Calcutta. They sailed on June 23, 1782. Thomas Hickey is stated to have twice painted his namesake William "making an admirable representation of me." One copy was sent to William Hickey's sister in London and the other remained with Charlotte, and was presumably taken out to India. Both these pictures have likewise disappeared.

WE have already (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 97) given some account of Chinnery. Thomas Hickey was born about 1760 in Dublin and after studying at the Royal Hibernian Academy's School and in Rome, practised in London as a portrait painter. There are (or were) portraits by him of the first Marquess Townshend (1769) and of the fourth Duke of Bedford in the Dublin Mansion House: and his portrait of Mrs. Abington the actress hangs on the walls of the Garrick Club building in London. With another artist, William Alexander, he accompanied Lord Macartney's mission to China (1792-1794): and a drawing by him of a Chinese scene is in the print room at the British Museum. He also went to India and resided there until his death in 1822: but the date of his arrival is uncertain. It is thought by some that he was the author of "The History of Painting and Sculpture from the Earliest Accounts" of which only the first volume was published at Calcutta in 1788. He painted in 1801, either at Seringapatam or at Vellore, a series of portraits of the family of Tippoo Sultan, which were formerly at Government House, Calcutta. They were brought there from Barrackpore by Lord Dufferin and are now at Belvedere. In October 1799 he announced that he had undertaken to paint seven pictures in connection with the capture of Seringapatam: the subjects being: the storming of the breach at Seringapatam, the interview with the Princes in the Palace, the finding of Tippoo's body, the first interview of the Commissioners of Mysore with the family of the Rajah, the funeral of Tippoo, the reception of Lieutenant Harris with the colours of Tippoo at Fort Saint George, and the placing of the Rajah on the Musnud of Mysore. It was also stated that engravings of these pictures would be executed by eminent artists in London. But the well known pictures of the assault and taking of Seringapatam and the discovery of the body of Tippoo are by other artists such as Sir Robert Ker Porter (1780-1842) and Sir David Wilkie. Finally, on May 4, 1800, the first anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam, a full length portrait of the Earl of Mornington (Lord Wellesley) which had been painted by Hickey at the request of the principal inhabitants of Madras, was exhibited at the Exchange. He was still in the Southern Presidency in 1816, for his portrait of Colonel Colin Mackenzie (Surveyor General at Madras from 1810 to 1816 and at Calcutta from 1816 to 1821) which is now at the India Office, was painted in that year at Madras.

A CORRESPONDENT writes : In the account of Major John Scott Waring, the agent of Warren Hastings in England, which is given in the article on *The Farington Diary* in the last issue of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 14, 15), there is an omission (which is no doubt accidental) to state that Waring's second son died in Calcutta, when acting as Adjutant of the Bodyguard to the first Lord Minto, and is buried in South Park Street cemetery. According to the *Bengal Obituary* (p. 98) the tomb bears the following inscription :—

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus Tam cari capitis. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant CHARLES SCOTT WARING Adjutant to the Bodyguard of The Right Honorable the Governor-General Obiit 2nd February 1813. Aetat. 26. His cheerful disposition, conciliatory manners and unaffected simplicity of character Endeared him to his relatives and friends and acquired him the regard of all who knew him, while his conduct in his profession obtained him the public applause, And private regard of his noble patron; who represented him most where he was emulous of being known, as a youth of the first promise. Past are those hopes, closed are those views which promised to realize his moderate desires and which opening bright prospects to his relatives and friends : now spread a deeper gloom over his sad loss.

MR. WILLIAM FOSTER writes : In the interesting notes on the Farington Diary (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV., p. 37) it is suggested that the strangely-named Catherine Hampden Hoppner, who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1804 to 1821, was a son of John Hoppner, R.A., the well-known portrait painter. On looking up the Writers' Petitions I find that the surmise is correct. The papers concerning his appointment show that he was born on April 24, 1784, and baptized on May 24 following at St. James's, Westminster, his parents being John and Phebe Hoppner. He was nominated as a writer by Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (Director of the Company from 1789 to 1812, and father of Lord Metcalfe) at the instance of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, who was then (1803) Prime Minister.

SOME extracts were given in the last volume of *Bengal Past and Present* (vol. XXIV, pp. 97—102) from the Letters of Sir Edward Paget, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1822 to 1825. There hangs at the Town Hall in the room of the Secretary to the Bengal Legislative Council a beautifully painted portrait of Dr. William Twining, who accompanied Sir Edward Paget to Calcutta as his personal surgeon and in 1824 exchanged from the King's to the Company's service and became an assistant surgeon on the Bengal establish-

ment. He was appointed first permanent assistant medical officer at the General Hospital and held the post until his death on August 25, 1835 at the age of 45, enjoying an enormous private practice. Twining's early career was of a distinguished character. He served when a young man as hospital assistant under the Duke of Wellington and went through the whole of the Peninsular War. In March 1804 he was promoted to be staff assistant surgeon, and entered Paris with the allied army as a member of Lord Hill's staff. He was present at Waterloo: and when Sir Edward Paget was appointed Governor of Ceylon in 1821, he went out with him as his medical attendant. The inscription on the picture in the Town Hall records that it was presented by his daughter Lady Cleeve in 1913. A place should be found for this undeniable work of art in the Victoria Memorial Hall. There is a monument to Twining in St. John's Church.

IN Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor's "Memorials of St. James's Street" (1922, pp. 265, 266) allusion is made to the sale in the year

The "Arcot Diamonds" and the "Nassuck Diamond."

of Queen Victoria's accession of two diamonds of historic interest. We read that on July 20, 1837, Messrs. J. G. and G. A. Sharp sold at Willis's Rooms

by auction "By order of the Trustees appointed by His Majesty for the Collection and Distribution of the Deccan Booty" the famous Nassuck (Nasik) Diamond (weighing 357½ grains and of the purest water) which had been "captured by the combined armies under the command of the late Most Noble General The Marquis of Hastings, G.C.B." in the final campaign against the Mahrattas which ended in the surrender of the Peshwa, Baji Rao the Second, to Sir John Malcolm on June 3, 1818. The catalogue was illustrated by copper plates representing the various facts relating to this famous Diamond as well as other valuable jewels formerly in the possession of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, Joseph Bonaparte, and the Sultan Selim. Together with the Nassuck Diamond were disposed of "By order of the Exors of the late Mr. Bridge of Ludgate Hill, the Celebrated Arcot Diamonds which were formerly sold by the direction of the Exors of Her late Majesty, Queen Charlotte." These were the famous stones (says Mr. Chancellor) which Warren Hastings on his return to England in 1785, presented to Queen Charlotte and which were supposed to have influenced her Majesty in receiving Mrs. Hastings. At the Queen's death they had been purchased by Bridge the jeweller. What has happened to these diamonds? Do they adorn the tiara of some "dollar queen" in New York or Chicago?



THOMAS AND WILLIAM DANIELL.
By ROBERT HOME.

(From the Picture in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

Robert Home's Portrait of Thomas and William Daniell.

MENTION was made in Part I of this volume (p. 3) of a portrait by Robert Home of Thomas and William Daniell which forms part of the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It hangs over a doorway on the top of the main staircase of the building occupied by the Society in Park Street, and has, we believe, never before been reproduced. The Council of the Society have, however, been good enough to permit a photograph to be taken of the picture by Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., the Principal of the Calcutta School of Art (to whom an expression of gratitude is also due): and the result may be seen on the opposite page. The painting is thus described by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson in his "Descriptive Catalogue" (1897):

"The younger Daniell—William—reclines in an easy attitude in a wide chair. His left leg is crossed over his right. His cheek rests on his left hand, his left elbow on the arm of the chair. His right forearm is supported by the top of a closed book placed upright in his lap. The right hand drooping over the edge of the top of the book holds a crayon. He wears a black coat thrown open, showing a white shirt without any collar, and yellow breeches. The face clean shaven, with light brown hair, looks to the left of the spectator. The elder Daniell—Thomas—is standing before him to his right. He looks towards his nephew, to whom he is pointing out some object in the distance. He wears a white cravat and a brown coat. The face is clean shaven. The hair is scanty and turning grey. The hands are left unfinished."

When and where was this picture painted? We know from the dates appended to the sketches of Southern India in the second series of *Oriental Scenery* which consists of "Twenty-four views taken in 1792 and 1793," that the Daniells were at Calcutta in 1792 and thereafter in the Madras Presidency from June of that year until some time in 1793, when they left India. Robert Home who was a pupil of Angelica Kauffmann, R.A., and exhibited a picture at the Royal Academy as early as 1770, is believed to have landed in Madras in 1790. During his residence there he painted a portrait of Lord Cornwallis and also took some sketches in the Mysore country. He did not go to Calcutta until the end of 1793: and went still later to Lucknow, upon his appointment by the Nawab Wazir, Asaf-ud-daula, as historical and portrait painter to the Court. It would seem, therefore, that Home met the Daniells in Madras and painted the picture there, either in the winter of 1792 or the spring of 1793. Thomas Daniell who was born in 1749, would then be forty-three years of age. His nephew William, was exactly twenty years his junior, and had accompanied his uncle to India at the age of fourteen. Home removed in 1828 from Lucknow to Cawnpore, where he died on September 12, 1834, at the age of eighty-two. His collection of pictures was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by his son, Brigadier and Colonel Home.

"A Trip to Bengal" in 1802.

AMONG the many artists who visited India during the closing years of the eighteenth century was one Charles Smith. We may read the following account of him in that olla podrida of useful information, Carey's "Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company:" (Vol. II. page 257):

Charles Smith, who styled himself "Painter of the Great Mogul," was a Scotchman, a native of the Orkneys, who set up in London as an artist. He excelled in portraits and exhibited at the Academy in this branch; and in 1792 a fancy subject, "Shakespear as an infant nursed between Tragedy and Comedy." He removed to Edinburgh in 1793, and thence came out to India. (1)

Remembering who the Mogul was and the troubles of the times, it seems at first highly improbable that Charles Smith could have gone to Delhi. We know that some years afterwards Lord Valentia was told he would be scarcely safe in travelling to Agra. But it so happens that in 1794 there was a complete lull in Upper India: the blind old Shah Alum was (to be sure) a pensioner of Scindia: but for a time he lived in comfort, and though the death of Scindia removed his patron early in 1794, yet the Nana Furnavis kept all things straight, and there seems no reason why Smith should not have gone up-country, nor why the old Mogul should not have employed his services.

Whether any of Smith's handiwork survives, we are not able to state. The artist left the country in 1796; but the East does not seem to have afterwards influenced his choice of subjects. He was an accomplished sort of man apparently; for he published in 1802, a musical entertainment in two acts, called "A Trip to Bengal."

He died at Leith in 1824, having reached the good old age of 75.

There is another reference to Smith in an article entitled "European Artists at the Court of Lucknow" which was published in the *Pioneer* of March 29, 1919. It runs as follows:—

In the India Register for 1806, among the European residents of Bengal in the entry "Smith, Charles, portrait painter, Lucknow." Smith's name also appear in the Registers for the five following years.

(1) As a matter of detail, it may be stated that Smith went out to India in the *Bellmont* (758 tons, Captain William Dick Gamage) which sailed from the Downs on March 11, 1783 for "the Coast and Bay."

Against some of the entries stands the date 1783. This seems to indicate that Smith came to India in that year. He was a native of the Orkney Isles and was born about 1749. He was befriended by Sir Joshua Reynolds, but became unpopular on account of his political opinions. He exhibited in various English galleries sixteen pictures between 1776 and 1797. In 1802 he published "A Trip to Bengal, A Musical Entertainment."

In India Smith's charges for portraits were half length Rs. 250; Three-quarter length Rs. 500; Full length Rs. 1,000. He painted a portrait of himself in Indian dress which was mezzotinted by S. W. Reynolds. After his return to England he described himself as "painter to the Great Mogul," but it is doubtful whether he ever went to Delhi. He died in England in 1824.

Finally, in an article on "Anglo Indian Miniaturists" by Mr. A. Francis Steuart, which appeared some years ago, we find it stated:

Charles Smith, an Orkney man, also went to India in 1783, and from 1789 resided in London under the style of "Painter to the Great Mogul." He died in 1824, after a successful career.

None of Smith's pictures have survived, to the knowledge of the present writer, and no mention of them has been discovered. But the object of this article is not to discuss his merits as a painter. It is proposed to give a summary of the contents of his "musical entertainment" entitled "A Trip to Bengal." A copy of this is preserved in the British Museum Library. It is a thin book of 52 pages, bound in boards, and the Title page is as follows:—

A TRIP TO BENGAL

A MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT

IN TWO ACTS

WRITTEN BY CHARLES SMITH

LONDON: Printed at the Oriental Press

by Wilson & Co. Wild-Court, Lincolns Inn Fields

for S. Ridgway and Black and Parry

1802.

By way of frontispiece Smith's portrait of himself, as engraved by S. W. Reynolds, is prefixed, with the legend "Charles Smith, painter to the Great Mogul: ipse pinxit, S. W. Reynolds Sculpt."

There is an elaborate dedication in the following terms.

To Sir John Macpherson Bart (2). Late Governor-General of Bengal and to the British inhabitants of the Settlement and of Madras This Drama is respectfully Dedicated as a grateful acknowledgment of the patronage and Hospitality experienced during during a Residence of several years in India by Their ever obliged and obedient Servant Charles Smith London Jan. 1, 1802.

Thereafter follows a preface in the usual florid style of the time :

To the generality of *European* Readers many of the incidents in the following little drama may seem improbably generous and romantic : but the BENGAL READER will readily recognise them as well-authenticated facts. The same may be asserted of the ludicrous as of the serious anecdotes which the author claims only the merit of having connected, and of having tendered a faithful portrait of the modes and manners of the most *elegant* and *enlightened* as it is the most *extensive* and *important* Colony of Great Britain.

The characters are thus enumerated :

Male.—The Governor-General of Bengal : Russell : Hartley : Capt. Fitzpatrick : A Kitmatgar.

Female.—The Governor's Lady : Maria (Russell) : Fanny as Frank in a Midshipman's Dress.

Black Domestics, Palanquin Bearers, Missalchees,
Singing and Dancing Girls, Musicians, Dandies.

The scene is laid in "Calcutta and its Environs" : and the Time of Action" within 24 hours."

We now come to the play itself, which may be summarised as follows :

(2) Sir John Macpherson administered the Government of Bengal in 1785—86, during the twenty months which elapsed between the departure of Warren Hastings and the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. He was the Senior Member of Council at Fort William, and from all accounts he was a typical "Nabob." He had come out originally to Madras as purser of the Lord Mansfield Indiaman (499 tons), which sailed from the Downs on March 8, 1767, and three years later procured admittance to the Company's service at Fort Saint George. Attaching himself to Wala Jah, the Nabob of the Carnatic, he shook the pagoda tree with such success that when he returned to England in 1776 he proceeded at once to purchase a seat in Parliament. In 1781 he obtained from Lord North the place in Council resigned by Barwell and found himself in his fortieth year in occupation of the chair. He fully expected the permanent appointment, but had to rest content with a baronetcy. The remaining thirty-three years of his life he spent in England, where he became a close friend and confidant of the Prince Regent. He figures in Hicky's Gazette as The Thane, and being of great stature and of "rare bodily graces," earned also the nickname of the "Gentle Giant." His administration in Bengal was uneventful, but it was far from edifying, in spite of his boast that he had reduced expenditure by two and a half lakhs. Cornwallis had a very poor opinion of his abilities and principles, and in a letter to Dundas he characterized his methods of Government as "a system of the dirtiest jobbery."—(Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, pp. 120—121).

ACT I.—SCENE I.

The Banks of the Hoogley : a distant view of Calcutta on one side, a Choultry on the other side of the Stage. Twilight. A storm of Thunder Lightning and Rain is coming on. A Budgerow arrives, rowed by Twelve Dandies.

Chorus by Dandies. Ali! Ali! Ali! Ali!

Male Characters : Pull, pull away,

'Tis dangerous to stay where snakes, aligators,
and tigers abound.

Female Characters : The deep thunder rolls,

The loud tempest howls,

The waves hoarsely roar

As they dash on the shore :

Then quickly, ah! quickly, on shore let's descend.

The Dandies jump on shore and fasten the Budgerow with a rope to a Bamboo stake. Then follow Hartley, Fitzpatrick, Fanny (who is disguised as Frank, a midshipman) and Maria under cover of Chatterees held by the Dandies. They take refuge in the Choultry. Hartley welcomes Maria upon her arrival in Bengal after five months' voyage.

Fanny (as Frank) : How unlucky that the tide shou'd turn just when we were within a mile or two of Calcutta.

Hartley : And then that the baur should rise at the same time (3).

* * *

" Frank " : My advice is to remain at anchor till flood tide, then get under weigh : and if we should go only at the rate of four knots, we shall make Calcutta in half a glass.

Hartley observes an elegant villa at no great distance and proceeding thither returns to say that it belongs to the Governor-General. While he and Fitzpatrick are gone, the ladies converse. Russell, Maria's father, having amassed a comfortable competence in an exalted situation in Bengal, had embarked for Europe above twelve months previously but had not been heard of since his ship left the Mauritius. Fanny reveals the fact that the Governor-General's lady was formerly her most intimate school-companion. On the return of the gentlemen they hand Maria into an upright palanquin. Hartley and " Frank " get into two others. Fitzpatrick (a raw Irish griffin)

(3) The reference is to the bore, or tidal wave, of which a graphic description is given in Caunter's Oriental Annual for 1834 (p. 258) :

A remarkable peculiarity of this river (the Hooghly) is that sudden influx of the tide called the bore, which rises in a huge wave sometimes to the height of sixteen or eighteen feet, sweeping up the stream at the rate of seventeen miles an hour, and overwhelming all the small craft within its rapid flow. It runs on the Calcutta side, but seldom extends above one-fourth part across the river, so that the shipping are generally beyond the reach of its influence. It nevertheless at times causes such an agitation that the largest vessels at anchor near the opposite shore (Indiamen of 600 tons are frequently seen at anchor off Calcutta) pitch and roll with considerable violence

attempts to get into a fly palanquin (4) but tumbles out to the diversion of the Dandies and Missalchees.

ACT I.—SCENE II.

A large saloon lighted up with candles under shades placed on Tepoys. The Governor-General seated on a sofa smoking his Hooka; his lady sitting by him, with a letter in her hand; both fann'd by Bearers with Punkas—Chubdaars with silver sticks, etc. The Durwan without announces the arrival of visitors: "Sahab log autah hy, kubber da jow." The information is repeated by a Hircarrah. Enter Hartley, Fitzpatrick, Maria, and Fanny, still disguised as "Frank." They are welcomed by the Governor-General and shown to their apartments. Fitzpatrick remains and comic "business" follows between him and a Kitmutgar based on Fitzpatrick's desire for a drink and his ignorance of Anglo-Indian customs and phrases.

Fitzpatrick: What civil creatures these poor black negers are.—Oh! What a sad thought it is that they shou'd be so cruelly oppress'd—as if they were not Christians like ourselves.—If I were Governor they shou'd have stockings, and brogues—aye, and wigs too. (5).

Loll shrab is ultimately brought in a long bottle, and consumed. A quarrel having taken place in the first scene between Fitzpatrick and "Frank," a mock duel is arranged by Hartley who withdraws the shot from Fitzpatrick's pistols.

ACT II.—SCENE I.

Verandah in the Governor's House between the columns of which is seen a view of the Tank Square in Calcutta. (6).

Fitzpatrick and Hartley arrive to attend the levee.

ACT II.—SCENE II.

The scene opens and discovers a Grand Saloon. The Governor attended by black domestics is giving audience to a Number of Persons who retire on one side of the Stage. Hartley and Fitzpatrick are presented: and Fitzpatrick asks the Governor for a commission in the Nabob of Lucknow's service. The Governor to humour him promises to recommend him to the Great Mogul who will make him a Noble and a General at once. "He has a Vakeel in Calcutta who is invested with all the powers of his master."

(4) Fly palanquin: a quick travelling carriage. "We all followed at once in fly palanquins"—Sir J. Day in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* (II. 88: 1784): quoted in *Hobson Jobson*.

(5) There is more than a reminiscence here of the famous exclamation addressed by Sir Elijah Impey to his fellow-judges upon landing at Chandpal Ghat in 1774. "See, brothers, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not surely established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see all these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings."

(6) The Old Court House is the building intended.

The Governor's lady and Maria enter: and a conversation of a sentimental type follows between Hartley and Maria. A Hircarrah announces a visitor. Enter Russell, Maria's father, who informs the Governor of his adventures:

"After we left the Mauritius we were overtaken by a dreadful hurricane which drove us on the coast of Africa. Our boat being destroyed, we were compelled to travel overland to the Cape, which we reached a day after the Hindoostan had left, with Maria (as I learned) on board. I embarked at the earliest opportunity for Bengal, and we arrived at Kudjeree a few hours after the Hindoostan."

Russell refuses consent to the marriage of Maria with her cousin Hartley, "the son of my most inveterate enemy who first drove me to India." The Governor intercedes with him, and they retire.

ACT II.—SCENE III.

A Street. Enter Fitzpatrick and the Kitmutgar on an elephant from which they descend. The elephant and black attendants retire. The ceremony with the bogus vakeel is over, and Fitzpatrick enquires of the Kitmutgar what title has been bestowed upon him. The Kitmutgar professes to read from a paper, and recites the following list with a supposed translation in each case:

Massa is Hurrum-zadah—that mean of illustrious birth—Soor Maranee—of elegant taste—Joot wallah—mirror of truth—Behadre—conqueror or general.

Enter a Chubdaar with a Hackree. He presents a letter to Fitzpatrick and gives a bundle to the Kitmutgar. The letter is handed to the Kitmutgar who declares it to be addressed "To His Highness Hurrum-zadah Soor Maranee Joot wallah Behadre," and to contain the following message from a Begum. "I live but in your smiles and die if you come not directly to the Zenana." Fitzpatrick is eager to accept the assignation and is told that he must put on a female dress. "Here are jamma Begum have sent Massa." They get into the Hackree and are driven off.

ACT II.—SCENE IV.

An apartment in a Zenana—an Arch in the middle with a semi-transparent Purda let down—Hindostannee Musicians playing—Singing and Dancing Girls arranged on one side of the Stage. Enter Fitzpatrick on the other, in Hindostannee female attire. The Governor's Lady, disguised with a Veil etc. conducts him to a seat on which he sits down cross legg'd. A Hookah and perfumes are presented to him. A Nautch is performed during which Fanny appears behind the purda in a Hindostannee dress. Fitzpatrick makes his Salaams awkwardly to the supposed Begum whom he has come to meet. Fanny gives a signal and the Governor's Lady sings a "Persian Song:"

Orra dilna dana lea mera munna dana le—a
 Mia keakaran a logo dilna dana le—a
 Orra dilna dana le—a mere munna dana le—a
 Orra omkee durpor co—el betee curtee pe—a pe—a
 Orra ectomboleen iscetakee locktaka courbana ma
 Orra is gableema otta giatta deckna ee ora ke—a. (7)

The Governor's Lady speaks broken English to Fitzpatrick and persuades him to promise the "Begum" to take her for better or for worse, Fanny unveils and completes the astonishment of Fitzpatrick by producing a paper in which payment of a lack of rupees is authorised on the day of her marriage. At this point enter the Governor, Russell, Hartley and Maria. The Governor explains to Fitzpatrick that the money is a tribute which he and a few friends cheerfully pay to merit. Maria announces that her father has at last consented to her union with Hartley: and after a chorus by way of finale the curtain falls.

So much for the play. At the end of the book is given the following:

GLOSSARY OF HINDOSTANNEE WORDS.

Ali.	God.
Behadre.	a Commander.
Begum.	a Princess.
Budgerow.	a Boat or Barge.
Chattee.	an Umbrella.
Choultry.	a Temple or Arcade for sheltering Travellers from sun and rain.
Chubdaar.	an attendant bearing a Silver Stick.
Dandee.	Boatman.
Dustoor.	Custom or fashion.
Hackree.	a covered Carriage drawn by Buffa- loes.
Hurrum-zadah.	illegitimate son—a term of reproach.
Hircarrah.	a messenger or footman.
Hookah.	an instrument for smoking tobacco, etc.
Jamma.	a muslin Dress.
Joot walla.	a liar.
Kitmutgar.	a domestic who serves at table.
Loll shrab.	Red wine, Claret.
Missalchee.	Torch-bearer.

(7) For a translation of this "Persian Song," see page 106.

Nautch.	an entertainment of singing and dancing.
Palanquin.	a vehicle of conveyance carried by four bearers.
Peenake Pawnee.	water to drink.
Punka.	a large fan.
Purdo.	a curtain or blind.
Saheb Salaam.	a Hindostannee salutation.
Shrab.	any fermented liquor.
Soor Maranee.	filthy hog—a term of reproach.
Tepoy.	a small table or stand.
Tank.	a reservoir.
Vakeel.	an Ambassador.
Verandah.	a gallery or colonnade.
Zenana.	the apartments attached to the females.

An Indian friend, who has studied this glossary, declares that it bears a strong resemblance to the list of words which Ooriya bearers commit to memory before entering the service of a Sahib (8). But, while a fair choice of Oriental expletives is afforded, there is one notable omission. In the Ooriya vocabulary, "when the Sahib says, 'd—d rascal' it means run away." *Jecur non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*. With this reminder of Sir George Trevelyan's saying we may restore "A Trip to Bengal" (freshly dusted) to its place on the shelves of the Bloomsbury reading-room.

C.

(8) It is certainly remarkable for the inclusion of the word "Choultry," which is peculiar to South India, and denotes in the Madras Presidency not only a resting-place for travellers (the sense in which it is employed by Smith), but also a court-house for the transaction of public business. Frequent mention of the "Justices of the Choultry" will be found in the early archives of Fort Saint George. "Chattee" is, of course intended for *Chatta*, the "chatter" of Hedge's Diary: while "Ali" is a strange variant for "Allah," which has escaped the authors of "Hobson-Jobson."

Appendix.

THE " PERSIAN SONG."

NOTE.—By the courtesy of Sir E. Denison Ross, the Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, the verses on page 104, which are not the gibberish that they appear to be, have been transliterated into the original Urdu, and rendered into English. It will be seen that one or two words in the fifth line have, perhaps fortunately, defied solution.

ارے دل نادان! لے آ — پرے من نادان! لے آ
میں کیا کروں لے لوگو! دہل نادان! لے آ

ص ۱۰۱

ارے اُنکے در پر کرسی بیٹھی کرتی پیار پیار
ارے ایک تم بویں۔
تقربان میں
ارے اس گھر لے آنا۔ وہ تو گیا۔ تو دیکھو ہے ارے کیا؟

- (1) O bring back my foolish heart to me, bring back my foolish mind.
- (2) What shall I do, O people? Bring back my foolish heart.
- (3) O bring back my foolish heart to me, bring back my foolish mind.
- (4) Ah, at his door, upon a chair seated, she is caressing,
caressing him (i.e. the rival).
- (5) Oh, one thing you said — — I adjure you — —?
- (6) Oh bring her to this house, he has gone away; what is there to look out for (i.e. there is no fear of being caught).

Sir Joshua's Model.

THE STORY OF EMILY WARREN AND ROBERT POTT.

On December 15, 1807, the following entry was made in his Diary by Joseph Farington, the Royal Academician, whose jottings on contemporary persons and events have formed so pleasant a feature of that great London newspaper the *Morning Post* during the last fourteen months :

“ Constable (the painter) called and related an anecdote of Greville A beautiful young woman called Emily who lived for a time with Greville and afterwards went to Bengal with Pott, son to the Surgeon, sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for a picture in which she was represented as Thais. This picture, when finished, Greville could not pay for, but proposed to the present Lord Dysart to take it and He was to have it for the sum paid if He should claim it. But Greville not being influenced by any strong desire for it, allowed near 30 years to pass without applying for (it), but lately on the reputation of Sir Joshua rising and this picture being spoken of, He put in his claim for it and took away paying the hundred guineas which Lord Dysart had paid for it. The transaction however has not been agreeable to the Dysart family though His Lordship who preferred peace to everything else submitted to it.” (1).

In various books of reference the subject of this picture which was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1781 is given as Miss Pott. But if we turn to the second volume of the “*Memoirs of William Hickey*,” (1775 to 1782), we shall find that Sir Joshua's model was Emily Warren, a lady of very different character.

Hickey relates that he first met Emily in 1776 when she was “an unripe and awkward girl but with features of exquisite beauty.” Charlotte Hayes, whom he describes as “an experienced old matron who kept a house of celebrity in King's Place,” met her in the streets of London when not quite twelve years of age leading her father, a blind beggar, about and soliciting charity from every person that passed. Hickey continues: “Sir Joshua Reynolds whom all the world allowed to be a competent judge had painted Emily's portrait many times and in different characters. He even declared

(1) The Hon'ble Charles Greville was the second son of the first Earl of Warwick : and evidently had a taste for irregular alliances, for he was an early friend also of Emma Hart (Nelson's Emma) who afterwards became Lady Hamilton. The picture must have reverted to the Earl of Dysart; for it was lent by him for exhibition to the British Institution in 1813. In 1833 it was lent to the Suffolk-street Gallery by Admiral Tollemache, and in 1857 to Manchester by Mr. J. Tollemache. Subsequently it came into the possession of Miss Alice de Rothschild. (See “*Morning Post*” of February 12, 1923, from which these details are taken).

every limb of hers perfect in symmetry, and altogether he had never seen so faultless and finely-formed a human figure." Nevertheless, although as Hickey puts it, to look upon Emily was to look upon perfection, as far as figure and features went, continued and intimate acquaintance with her brought the conviction that she was totally devoid of feeling, and moreover, she could neither read nor write. She was however an apt scholar so far as talking and common address went and by no means deficient or awkward in conversation. Hickey records that he could not recollect ever to have heard her make use of a vulgarism or a phrase that could mark her illiterateness.

"Pott, son to the Surgeon," was Robert Percival Pott of the Company's Civil Service on the Bengal Establishment. He was appointed Assistant to the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad on March 16, 1774, and in 1777 was an Assistant at the Maidapore out-factory near that station. Owing to ill health he was compelled to resign the Company's Service and to return to England in the beginning of the following year. He was an intimate friend of William Hickey, and when that gentleman arrived in Calcutta in November 1777 on the *Seahorse* (676 tons, Capt. David Arthur) in order to commence practice as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, he was met by "Bob Pott", who drove up the avenue to Colonel Watson's house at Garden Reach where he was staying, "in a very jemmy equipage." In this turn-out he was taken to the "noble mansion" belonging to Richard Barwell, then a member of the Supreme Council, who had lent it to his younger brother Daniel and "three friends—Pott, Cator and Gosling". (2). Pott subsequently introduced Hickey to Sir Elijah Impey and the other two Judges—Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde—Mr. Justice Le Maistre having died the day before his arrival. The "first really pleasant party" which Hickey attended was given by Daniel Barwell. "The most highly dressed and splendid hookah" was prepared for the guest: but he found it disagreeable and never smoked another, although he "frequently heard men declare they would much rather be deprived of their dinner than their hookah." Another custom of the times is thus described: "In this party I first saw the barbarous custom of pelleting each other with little balls of bread made like pills across the table which was even practised by the fair sex. Mr. Daniel Barwell was such a proficient that

(2) Robert Gosling was export warehouse keeper in 1783, and Commercial Resident, first at Rungpore (1787) and subsequently (1789) at Keerpoy (Khirpai, near Ghatal, in the Midnapore district). Joseph Cator, being then a factor on the Bengal Establishment, married in 1780 Diana Bertie. Her sister Ann married in 1778 North Naylor, the Company's Attorney who came to loggerheads with the Judges of the Supreme Court over the Cossijurah case and was committed to jail in March, 1780. They came out to India in 1777 with William Hickey (*Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 101) on board the *Seahorse* of which their brother-in-law, Captain David Arthur, was in command: and, says Hickey, the object of their adventure was to "search for husbands." Richard Barwell assigned to Mrs. Cator the free use for two years (1780 to 1782) of the house, with furniture "now occupied by Mr. Robert Sanderson," his father-in-law, "fronting the Esplanade." We find her husband resigning on November 20, 1780 the offices of member of the provincial council of Calcutta and captain of the Calcutta militia. He was appointed in that year one of the trustees of Barwell's Estates.

he could at a distance of 3 or 4 yards snuff a candle and that several times successively. "

Pott left for Europe in the middle of February 1778 in the *Ceres* (723 tons, Captain Thomas Newte) and arrived without mishap in the Downs on August 23 following (3). Hickey himself returned to London in the summer of 1780, sailing from the Sandheads on May 1, 1779, in the *Nassau* (723 tons, Captain Arthur Gore). He was sent home by a committee of the inhabitants of Calcutta in connection with the agitation for trial by jury in the Settlement. The French blockade kept them at Madras until October 30, and he left the *Nassau* at the Cape, and finished his journey in a Dutch Indiaman.

Upon his arrival he received a letter from Emily Warren entreating that he should immediately call upon her. She enclosed in her letter another from Pott informing him of his being under the necessity of leaving London for Portsmouth where he was to embark for Bengal in the *Hillsborough*, commanded by Captain Pitt Collett. He had, he said, endeavoured to procure a passage to India for Emily, who had been living with him for a year and a half, and had even induced her to put on boy's clothes in order to pass her off as a servant. But the Captain saw through the deception and told Pott it could not be as it would lose him the command of the ship and cause his ruin. Pott therefore sailed without her at the end of July 1780. Hickey tells us that he left her in a handsome well-furnished house in Cork Street, the rent of which he paid fifteen months in advance, " besides abundantly stocking with all sorts of wines, coals, candles, and every article of house keeping sufficient for the same period ", and had likewise provided her with a carriage and pair of beautiful horses which he had himself driven in his phaeton. Pott entreated his friend to look after Emily " whom he had prepared to love him " and Hickey relates how the young lady came to see him in " a dashing bright yellow vis à vis, having Pott's arms emblazoned thereon, and an elegant pair of bright bay horses, with the coachman and footman in smart frocks of blue faced with yellow and trimmed with a broad silver lace. "

All these plans came to nothing. Some weeks later, a letter came from Pott as prisoner at Madrid in which he said that, after the fleet had been barely a fortnight at sea and were in early expectation of making the island of Madeira, they encountered a strong enemy force of 20 sail of large ships both Spanish and French. Five East Indiamen and a great number of West Indiamen were

(3) Daniel Barwell followed shortly after in the *Osterley* (758 tons, Captain Samuel Rogers) and was less fortunate. When off the Mauritius, on February 22, 1779, they fell in with a large French privateer and were captured and taken to the Isle of France. After a detention of some weeks Barwell was allowed to proceed in an American vessel to the Cape, where he embarked in a Dutch East Indiaman. This vessel ran on a sandbank off Middleburg on the coast of Holland and was totally lost. Barwell attempted to swim ashore and was drowned.

captured (4) and Robert's ship being prize to a Spaniard, was taken into Cadiz where the prisoners were placed upon their parole. Pott returned in due course to London and made fresh arrangements for his departure for Bengal. This time he *did* take Emily Warren out with him in the *Lord Mulgrave*, an Indiaman of 692 tons under the command of Captain James Urmston, which sailed from Plymouth for Bengal on June 26, 1781. The story is thus related by Hickey :

" In the beginning of February Pott told me he had agreed for the whole of the round house and half the great cabin of the ship *Lord Mulgrave*, commanded by Captain Urmston, which ship would sail for India in six weeks; that in consideration of a large sum of money the Captain had consented to receive Emily on board, and they both (Emily and Pott) flattered themselves that I would join the party by occupying the half of the great cabin which he (Pott) had taken in the hope that I would do so. "

Now it so happened that Pott's father, Percival Pott (1714-1788), the eminent Surgeon, had considerable influence at the India House. Efforts were made by him to prevent his son from taking " that infamous and notoriously abandoned woman Emily who had already involved him deeply as to pecuniary matters, out to India, a step that must not only shut him out of all proper society but prevent his being employed in any situation of respect and emolument. " Hickey was asked to see the elder Pott at his house in Hanover Square which he did; but it was too late.

" I received the same day a long epistle from Robert telling me that after an ineffectual attempt to get to sea they had returned and still lay wind-bound at the Mother Bank (Portsmouth); that he was extremely uneasy at the detention, as the old buck (meaning his father) was stirring heaven and earth to defeat his wish of keeping his dear woman with him. ' Nay ', adds he, ' do you know, Bill, he has carried it so far as to apply to the Court of Directors, and the stupid soap-boilers in consequence directed their addle-pated Secretary to address a letter " on the Service " to Captain Urmston, admonishing him against so unpardonable a fault as permitting a common prostitute to find her way to India on board his ship. But it's all in vain, my dear Bill, go she must, and go she shall by all the powers of heaven and hell. Poor

(4) The *Hillsborough* (723 tons), the *Royal George* (758 tons, Capt. Thomas Foxall) and the *Mount Stuart* (758 tons Capt. John Haldane) all bound for the "Coast and Bay", together with the *Godfrey* (716 tons, Capt. Henry Grueber) bound for Bombay, and the *Gatton* (758 tons, Captain James Rattray) bound for St. Helena and Bencoolen, sailed from Portsmouth on July 27, 1780, in company with a number of West India ships. They were captured on August 9 following by the combined French and Spanish fleets in lat. 36.28. N. lon. 15.20 W. The first officer of the *Royal George* was Nathaniel Dance, who was afterwards commander of the *Lord Camden* (799 tons) and on February 14, 1804, when commodore of the homeward bound China fleet, beat off an attack by Admiral Linois with four French men of war, off Pulo Aor. For this exploit he was knighted and presented with £5,000 by the Bombay Insurance Corporation, receiving in addition a pension of £500 a year from the East India Company. He was a nephew of the painter Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, R.A. and the architect George Dance junior, R.A.

Urmston is in a woeful panic, saying it may be the means of his losing the command of his ship, and the service altogether. But I know better; the worst the cheese-mongering varlets of Leadenhall Street can do is to mulct him a few hundred pounds, which of course I shall pay."

The sequel must be sought in the third volume of Hickey's "Memoirs" (1782 to 1790), which makes an opportune appearance as these pages go to press. The infatuated Bob and the fair and frail Emily duly reached Madras and embarked thence for Bengal in a country ship in May, 1782. Emily was tormented by prickly heat, and when off Culpee, drank in quick succession two large glasses of extremely cold water mixed with milk. The prickly heat disappeared, but she complained of faintness and suddenly fell back dead. Pott was "inconsolable and outrageous in his grief." The body was placed in a coffin and towed astern in a boat to Calcutta where it was interred in "the burial-ground of the town." A magnificent mausoleum was constructed over the grave by Mr. Tiretta, at a cost of three thousand pounds: and he was also employed at a fee of another thousand pounds to erect a column "amongst herds of tigers" at Culpee which was promptly christened "Pott's Folly" by the pilots who nevertheless profited by its presence when bringing in ships from sea. There is no trace of the grave in the Park-street cemeteries, but the column at Culpee may still be seen.

Pott's grief was soon allayed. When Hickey himself arrived at Calcutta on June 30, 1783, he found him "in excellent health and high spirits," installed in "a noble mansion situated upon the banks of the river, five miles from Calcutta." He had another residence in town, for we find from the Calcutta Collectorate records that on February 20 and 21, 1784, he sold to one Robert Penny for Sicca Rs. 35,181-7-0 "an upper roomed dwelling house" in Calcutta and one bigha four cottahs and fifteen chittacks of land "near to the New Theatre", (5) and "bounded on the north side thereof by the house now occupied by Jacob Rider, Esquire." (6).

(5) This "New Theatre" stood at the north-west corner of Lyons Range and was converted by Gopey Mohan Tagore in 1808 into the New China Bazar.

(6) Jacob Rider was an old shipmate of Hickey. They had come out to India together in the *Plassey* (499 tons, Capt. John Waddell) which sailed from the Downs for "the Coast and China" on January 3, 1769. Rider's family appears to have been connected by marriage with a branch of Lord Clive's family. He had originally been sent out to Bengal in 1762 and when Clive became Governor at Fort William for the second time in 1764, he appointed him to be Paymaster-General of the Army. But he was dismissed for signing the military "round robin" of remonstrance against the abolition of "double batta." He returned to Europe and by the exercise of personal influence obtained restoration to the rank of factor. He became Collector of Malda in 1772 and his second stay in Bengal lasted until about 1775 when he retired "with an ample fortune" and Hickey met him in London (Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 79). He must have run through his money and once more returned to Bengal for, besides the evidence that he was occupying a house in Calcutta in 1784, the records show that he was acting chief of Cossimbazar in 1777 and member of the Board of Trade in 1780. In 1785 he was, says Hickey (Vol. III, p. 275) past-owner, with Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (father of Lord Metcalfe) and one Benjamin Mee, of a concern known as the Bengal Bank. "The emoluments of the

In December, 1783, Pott was appointed Resident at Burdwan. The post was "considered one of the most lucrative situations in the service:" but Pott accepted it with open annoyance. He had, before leaving England, procured from the Directors, upon the personal application of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, the appointment of Resident at the Durbar of the Nawab Nazim at Moorshedabad, in succession to Sir John D'Oyly. Unfortunately, the baronet was in no hurry to vacate, and when he decided to go in July, 1784, he demanded three lakhs of sicca rupees as "compensation" for "early resignation," besides Rs. 90,000 as the price of furniture left at the Residency. Pott submitted to the extortion, for he was very well aware of the "advantages" enjoyed by the holders of this "enviable situation." The whole of the allowances paid by the Government to the Nabob and his Court passed through the hands of the Resident, "in which channel a considerable portion always stuck to his fingers" and he was also Collector of Customs.

One wonders how Pott came to possess so large a sum as four lakhs: for his extravagance was phenomenal. While at Burdwan, he expended (Hickey tells us) Rs. 30,000 upon the house in which he lived, and built in addition a "beautiful hunting seat" about twelve miles away. He was equally lavish when he took possession of the Residency at Afzulbaug, "a magnificent mansion on the banks of the Cossimbazar river, about three miles from Berhampore, and two from Moorshedabad." Extensive alterations were at once put in hand, until the place became "altogether by far the most splendid thing in India." Hickey visited him in April or May, 1785, and again in February, 1786, and found him living in royal state. He was accompanied everywhere by a detachment of light horse, and when Hickey arrived by river, his friend met him in "a magnificent boat with a suwarry of at least sixty persons."

Pott's reign at Afzulbaug lasted until 1789, when discrepancies were found in his accounts for which he was called upon to submit explanations. (7). It appears from Hickey that a violent quarrel broke out between him and his head assistant, John Addison, who had held the same post under Sir John D'Oyly. Charges were met by counter-charges: and an enquiry was held with the result that both were dismissed from their offices. Addison obtained re-employment after the lapse of sixteen years: but Pott's sentence was final.

business were immense, their notes being as current as cash all over the British territories in Asia, and in circulation to an amount almost incredible." Unwise speculation, however, produced a harvest of disputes and litigation, and at the end of some years, the Bank closed its doors. Metcalfe went to England, became a baronet in 1803, and was a Director of the Company from 1789 until his death in 1813. Rider seems to have remained in India. Thomas Twining (*Travels in India One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 168) mentions a visit paid by him in 1794 "to Mr. Rider at Cawnpore, whom I had known in Calcutta." Cawnpore was then the chief northern station of the Company's troops and Rider was paymaster. Finally, a monument in the old cemetery at Ghazipore bears the name of Jacob Rider who "died regretted on the 25th of August, 1809, aged 63 years." These dates would make him 16 years old at the time of his first arrival in Bengal in 1762.

(7). Pub. O. C. 8 July 1789, No. 2: 10 October, 1789, No. 17: Pub. Proc. for July, 1789, pp. 3365—3369,

Sympathy need not, however, be wasted upon the volatile Robert. In 1788 he had married Miss Sally Cruttenden at Berhampore. This lady who was a heiress with an income of six thousand pounds a year, was his first cousin, for his father, Dr. Percival Pott, had in 1746 married Sarah, daughter of Robert Cruttenden by whom he had five sons and four daughters. (8). The third son Joseph Holden Pott (1759-1847) became Archdeacon of London: and another son, besides Robert, came to Bengal. William Percival Pott was in the Civil Service from 1798 to 1806 and died on October 10, 1806, at Furruckabad, where he was assistant to the judge and magistrate.

There are traces of Robert Pott in the Records of the Government of India up to November 1, 1793. In October 1790, he gives a testimonial to Mr. Robert Robertson who "lived with me in the capacity of writer for two years and a half" and states that "my only motive for Parting with him was the abolition of my appointment." On December 24 of the same year a formal application is submitted by "J. Winth, D.C.P.M." to Lord Cornwallis for payment of Mr. Pott's bill for "his subsistence for the month of July last," the reason for the delay in presentation being that "Mr. Pott was absent from the city on his way to Lucknow." The same delay, but due on this occasion to their not having been audited by the Civil Paymaster, occurs in December, 1791, when Messrs. George and Thomas Gowan present to "E. Hay, Esq. Secretary to the Government" his salary bills for November and December, 1790. Finally, on October 23, 1793, Mr. Pott writing from Lucknow solicits permission from the Hon'ble Peter Speke acting Governor-General (brother of "Billy" Speke the midshipman of the *Kent*, who is buried in St. John's churchyard) "to go, with my family, on a party of pleasure, in the course of the ensuing cold season to Agra and Delhi." The receipt of this communication on November 1, is duly noted: and thereafter we lose sight of him (9).

(8). The name of Cruttenden is a familiar one in the history of Calcutta. Edward Holden Cruttenden was second in Council at Fort William in 1753 and became a "free merchant" on his dismissal two years later from the Company's Service. He was present during the siege of Calcutta and took refuge at Fulta with his wife and three children. His house and spacious grounds played a prominent part in the defence and the attack. They were situated immediately to the north of the old Fort, and are conspicuously marked in Wills' map of Calcutta in 1756. Cruttenden was subsequently a Director of the Company from 1765 to 1771. There is a monument by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A., in St. John's Church to the memory of Major George Cruttenden, who died at Macao on March 23, 1822, at the age of 54. He retired from the Bengal Army in 1809 to join the firm of Cruttenden, McKillop & Co. which was one of the houses involved in the commercial failures of 1833. It seems that he came out to India as a cadet with Pott in 1782, and lived with him as a member of his "family" at Calcutta, Burdwan, and Afzulbaug.

(9). Pub. O. C. 6 Occ. 1790, No. 16; 24 Dec. 1790, No. 18; 7 Dec. 1791, No. 23; 1 Nov. 1793, No. 39.

Dutch Memorials at Chinsurah.

OF all the rivers in the world, the Hooghly (which should more properly be termed the Bhagirathi) is surely the most cosmopolitan. The flags of no less than seven European nations have been hoisted on its banks. First in point of time are the Portuguese (Feringis) who are heard of at Satgaon (Porto Piqueno) as early as 1535, and who moved their factories about 1570 to Ugolym (Hooghly town) and its suburb of Bandel (1). A street in Hooghly is still known as Feringitola; and the Portuguese retain a few bighas of land attached to the church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario at Bandel which is the oldest place of Christian worship in Bengal, if not in India. It was burnt by the "Moors" in the sack of Hooghly in 1632, but a token stone of the original building, with the date 1599, has been built into the gate of the present church which was erected in 1661.

Then came the Dutch (Olandaz) at Golghat (also in Hooghly town) about 1650, and later at Chinsurah; and next the English who set up their factory at Golghat also in December, 1650, remaining there until Charnock moved to Sutanuti in 1690. The "New" or "English Company" had its headquarters at Golghat for some time; but after amalgamation with the Old Company migrated also to Calcutta in 1704. The Danes (Dinemar) settled on the river bank about 1670 or shortly thereafter at Gondolpara where the name Dinemardanga still survives; but this was abandoned in 1714, and Fredriksnagore, or Serampore, was not founded until 1755. The monogram of Frederick the Sixth of Denmark may still be seen at Serampore on the jail, the Court House, and the historic church (originally Lutheran) in which Marshman, Carey, and Ward once ministered. In the cemetery are the tombs of the factors of the Danske Asiatiske Compagnie and the records of the Company, which was established in 1612, are preserved in the record-room of the sub-divisional officer, in the shape of eight volumes of a rent roll, known as the Danish Roll, and a number of other volumes relating to rents and land tenures. The first Danish factory in Bengal was established at Balasore about 1636, but the honour of being the oldest of the Danish settlements in India belongs to Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast, where the Dansborg was built in 1620 and which enjoys the additional distinction of having been the birth place in 1762 of Madam Grand. Both Serampore and Tranquebar were sold to the British in 1845 for twelve and a half lakhs of rupees.

The French (Farasi) claim to have been established permanently at Chandernagore (Fort Orleans) since 1688, and are there to this day. Farasdanga cloths are still made by the Tantis in the Ballabhpur ward of Serampore: but

(1) Bandel is said to be a corruption of "bandar," the quay of Ugolym. The Portuguese were in the habit of speaking of "The Bandel of Bengal."

for nearly a century an administrateur and twenty-five cipahis have represented the remnants of French power left in Bengal. Lastly the Ostend Company and the Emdeners (under the patronage of the Great Frederick) made a brief stay, the former at Bankybazar on the eastern bank (opposite to Bhadreswar) from 1727 to 1731, and the latter from about 1753 to 1759 at the "Prussian Garden," a mile to the south of the French factory.

The Prussians had had their eye on the Indian trade long before. In Henry Muddiman's newsletters, from which hitherto unpublished extracts were printed in the "Times" of April 24, 1923, (2) we read the following:—

Sat. Dec. 20, 1684.—The good success that the English and Dutch Companies have found in their trade in the East Indies hath raised an emulation to try what they can do by their industry in these parts. And to this effect the Sieur Tavernier is employed by the Elector of Brandenburg [the Great Elector] to find out some convenient place for his subjects. Who though he has altered his resolution of going by Muscovy and Persia does yet go and to that purpose is bargaining for a ship in Holland. The French are following suit.

The "Sieur Tavernier" in question was Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who in 1679 had published a book on his travels in the East. He had paid a visit to Hooghly on February 20, 1666 and stayed till March 2, "during which time the Hollanders bid me very welcome and made it their business to show me all the divertisements which the country was capable of." Nothing came however of the Great Elector's plans as far as Bengal was concerned: although he hired ships from a "Dutch pirate" named Benjamin Raule and sent them to trade along the west coast of Africa.

The Dutch continued in possession of Chinsurah, which is within three miles of Chandernagore, until 1825, when they exchanged it and the other Dutch factories in Bengal for Bencoolen and Fort Marlborough on the island of Sumatra (3). Their first factory adjoined the old English factory at Hooghly itself, but it was swept away by floods. A new factory was thereupon built a little lower down at Chinsurah in 1656, according to Stavorinus, a Dutch naval officer who visited the place in 1769-70 and records that Fort Gustavus "was built in the year 1656, as appears by date over the land-gate."

The Fort was an imposing structure. "There is nothing in it (Hooghly) more magnificent than the Dutch factory," wrote Schouten who saw it in 1665, "it has, indeed, more the appearance of a castle than of a factory of merchants." Streynsham Master, in 1676, was similarly impressed by "the Dutch factory" which "is a large well-built house standing by itself, much like to a

(2) Since published in book form: "The King's Journalist, 1659-1689: studies in the reign of Charles II": by J. G. Muddiman (London, 1923: 12s. 6d.). Henry Muddiman, who was the founder of the *London Gazette*, was official journalist to General Monk and later to Charles II. The manuscript of these news letters which were written from 1667 to 1689, has been lying in the library of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat since 1704.

(3) The treaty, which was signed in London on March 17, 1824, provided that the cession should take effect from March 1, 1825: but Chinsurah was not actually made over until May 7 of that year.

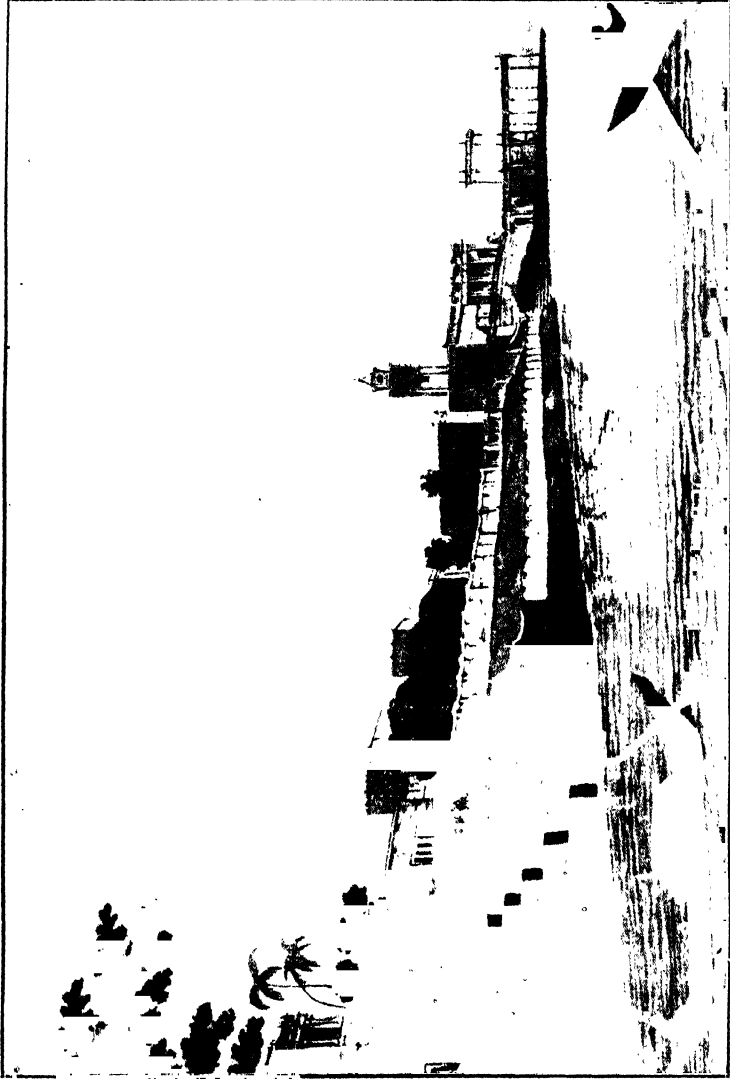
country seat in England." Captain Alexander Hamilton, an eighteenth century Sindbad who traded and travelled by sea and land between the Cape and India and Japan from 1688 to 1723, visited Bengal about 1706, and went up the river to "the Chinchura, where the Dutch Emporium stands." It was, he says, "a large factory walled high with brick: And the Factors have a great many good Houses standing pleasantly on the River Side, and all of them have pretty Gardens to their Houses." Chinsurah was then "about a mile long, and about the same breadth." In 1727 Laurent Garcin, a Swiss surgeon in the Dutch service, declares that there were nowhere such fine houses in India as at Chinsurah: but in the time of Stavorinus, the principal houses were one-storeyed and made of brick, the Company's garden had neither a bush or a blade of grass in it, and the walls of the Fort were in a ruinous condition. When Mrs. Fenton, the wife of a Company's officer, saw the place in 1827, it had been turned into a depot for British troops, and the Dutch quarter was already "a city of silence and decay." (4).

Nothing now remains of Fort Gustavus except a stone slab which was probably taken from the north gate, and has been placed on the noble main staircase of the Director's house, now occupied by the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division. It is inscribed with the familiar monogram V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Companie) and the date 1687. (5) The stone to which Stavorinus refers has disappeared: and all trace has likewise been lost of another stone mentioned by Mr. Toynbee in his "Sketch of the administration of the Hooghly district," which bore the date 1692 and is said to have been affixed to the southern gate of Fort Gustavus, leading to the Company's garden. The house is believed to be the building which, according to Stavorinus, was erected by the Dutch Director, Sichterman, about the year 1744. It has lost its shady and pleasant garden, its gallery with a double row of pillars, projecting over the water, and the "elegant terrace and balcony which commands the finest prospect at Chinsurah."

The quaint old Church stands opposite, facing a long two-storeyed building, used until early in the seventies as officers' barracks. It is an octagonal structure not unlike a coffin in shape, and is surrounded by a sort of enclosed verandah, or outer aisle. At the south end is a tower, which was originally seventy-two feet high and had a steeple, a chiming clock and a bell. The steeple and the upper part of the tower fell in the cyclone of October 5, 1864:

(4) New barracks capable of accommodating a thousand men were built in place of the old Dutch barracks by Captain W. Bell in 1829: and in 1831 H.M. 60th Regiment was permanently stationed at Chinsurah. In 1843 "there were no troops at Chinsurah, but a large number of recruits was expected." The barracks were finally vacated by the Military Department in 1871.—Toynbee, "Sketch of the administration of the Hooghly District" (1888—p. 134).

(5) The letters O. and C. are placed across the limbs of the V. with the figures 16 on the left and 87 on the right. A similar monogram, with various dates, appears on the copper coinage issued by the Dutch Company, with a coat of arms on the other side.



A VIEW OF CHINSURAH, THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL.

(From "Select Views in India Drawn on the Spot 1780-1783" by William Hodges, R.A.)

and the lower portion alone remains. An old stone slab was found in 1907 at the foot of the tower which bore the inscription :

Gebowd door

J. A. Sichterman

Raad Extra ordinair van Nederland Indie

En directeur deeser Bengaalse

Directien * * * Anno 1742.

(Built by J. A. Sichterman, Extraordinary Councillor of Netherlands India and Director of this Bengal Direction.) It has now been placed on the wall of the vestry at the north end of the church.

The nave of the church was added to the tower by Director Vernet in 1767, and a medallion over the old east door bears testimony to the fact : " Ad majorem Dei gloriam edificare jussit G. Vernet, A.D. 1767." This inversion of the natural order of events leads Mr. Toynbee to remark that he is reminded of the story that the Frenchman invented the frill and the Englishman added the shirt. Lastly we have the outer aisle or closed-in external verandah which was built in the period between 1825 and 1835 and surrounds the whole of the church except the tower. The porch which is at the eastern end, belongs to the same period. In olden days, there was a railed-in space at the north end, where the altar is now placed. This was raised above the floor by three steps, and contained the pulpit, to which access was obtained by means of a door from the vestry at the back. At the opposite end, under the tower where the organ now stands, there was a similar railed-in space, also raised above the ground, in which were the seats of the " Consistory " or vestry, and the official chair of the Director. The platforms and the seats in the aisle were removed in 1880, and the door to the vestry blocked up. The font (which is placed in the outer aisle on the left hand of the porch) is a black serpentine block which according to tradition was brought from England and presented to the church in the early days of the English occupation. More interesting are two old guns forming the bases of the lamp standards which are in the garden and which are said to be of Dutch origin.

The first minister of the church was the famous John Zechariah Kiernander who settled at Chinsurah in 1789, and was appointed Chaplain on a stipend of Rs. 25 a month. He ceased to hold the office when the English occupied the settlement in 1795. Prior to his appointment there seems to have been no regular pastor. Services were conducted by an official known as the " Ziekent-rooster " or " Comforter of the Sick," and baptisms were performed by a clergyman from Calcutta, " who was liberally paid for his trouble." (6).

The tower may be seen in a plan of Chinsurah drawn by Father J. Tieffenthaler in 1765 (*Description de l'Inde*). Both tower and church (without the outer aisle) figure prominently in William Hodges' print of " Chinsurah, the Dutch Settlement of Bengal," which is reproduced on the opposite page. The print

(6) Some of these particulars regarding the church are taken from an article by the Rev. H. F. Fulford Williams which was published in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1915 (Vol. XI, Part II, pp. 237—241).

is included in a series of forty-eight aquatints entitled "Select Views in India Drawn on the Spot in 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783," and published in London in 1786.

In the descriptive text Hodges credits "the residence of the Dutch Governor and his Council" as being "remarkable for the pleasantness of its situation and its healthiness." There is he says, "a Fort and within that the Factories of the Dutch East India Company." In his other work, Hodges thus describes Chinsurah as he saw it, when he went up the river in the summer of 1781, in the company of Warren Hastings, just prior to the insurrection of Cheyt Singh at Benares (*Travels in India*, London, 1793, p.42):

Near to this (the French Settlement at Chandernagore) is the town of Chinsurah, the Dutch Settlement on the banks of the river; this town is very distinguishable at a considerable distance, and has a handsome appearance. It contains several good houses, and a church, with a little mole projecting into the river. Chinsurah lies nearly midway between Chandernagore and the old town of Hooghly, which is now nearly in ruins, but possesses many vestiges of its former greatness. In the beginning of the century it was the great mart for the export trade of Bengal to Europe.

Stavorinus gives a most interesting account (quoted by Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., in his *Brief History of the Hooghly District*) of the administration of the settlement. The Government consisted of a Director, with a Council of seven members, the last two of whom had no vote. Although the Director corresponded directly with the Hague, he was subordinate to Batavia, and vacancies occurring at Chinsurah required confirmation from Batavia. The Director's full style and title was "The Honourable Director of the Company's important trade in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa." He received a percentage on the sale of all imported goods, and "spent Rs. 36,000 a year: the English Director at Calcutta spent a lakh." The privilege of being carried "in a palankeen sitting in a chair" was enjoyed by him alone: and he was preceded by chobdars armed with silver staves. The second in Council was Chief at Calcutta (Cossimbazar); the third acted as Chief Administrator: and the fourth was Superintendent of the Cloth Room, considered a very profitable appointment. The Captain of the troops and the Controller of Equipment had seats in Council, but no vote. The first warehouse-keeper and the Fiscal or Sheriff ranked as merchants. The latter received only the pay of a junior merchant, but he was also mayor of the town, and was known in the vernacular as Jemadar. "The natives stand more in awe of him than of the Director": for he punished by flogging and fines, frequently imposing fines of Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000 on rich bunnias. He received five per cent. on all imports and exports by private trade and "as six ships come and go every year," he was able to make Rs. 4,000 per ship, or Rs. 24,000 in all.

The Fiscal was represented by one of his officers at Fulda, whose duty it was "to have an eye upon the illicit, or smuggling trade, that is, in such cases when matters have not been settled beforehand with the Fiscal, and a proper

consideration made for his connivance." A house was kept at Barnagore for the accommodation of the Company's servants, and an under officer of the Fiscal resided there under the Dutch flag. Here also the Fiscal had his opportunities for adding to his income: "Barnagore is famous on account of the great number of ladies of pleasure, who reside there, and who pay a monthly recognition to the Fiscal of Chinsurah, for the free exercise of their profession." In addition, the Dutch had factories at Patna and Dacca, and a small lodge at Balasore. The chief profits were derived from the export to Java of opium which was obtained from Patna. Each chest cost the Company Rs. 700 or Rs. 800 and was sold in Batavia for Rs. 1,250: and a net surplus of four lakhs was realized yearly.

Mr. O'Malley in the *Hooghly District Gazetteer* (1912, p. 65) gives the following list of the Dutch Directors with their years of office: Matthias van der Broucke (1658-1664) Martinus Huysman (1684) W. de Ros (1706) Antonius Huysman (1712) Vuisst (1724) Patras (1726-1727) J. A. Sichterman (1744) Huygens (1749) Louis Tallefert (1754) J. Kerseboom (1754) Adrian Bisdom (1754-1759) George Louis Vernet (1764-1770) Johannes Matthias Ross (1780) Pieter Brueys (1783) Titsinh (1789) J. A. van Braam (1817) and Daniel Overbeck (1818-1825). Van der Broucke was one of the first to survey the river Hooghly. Of Tallefert, we learn from Stavorinus that he destroyed all the tombs in the old burying-ground, which stood to the westward of Fort Gustavus, except the monument of the Director Huysman, which was turned into a powder magazine. "The rest was made into a level plain, and the burying place was removed to another part of the town, where now every grave has an upright tombstone upon it."

Bisdom, or Bisdam, in spite of the fact that the battle of Biderra was fought and won by Forde on November 25, 1759, (7) during his Directorate, was a friend of Clive and Watts and, indeed, of the English in general. In a footnote on p. 19 of his *Travels in India* William Hodges thus writes of the services rendered by him to the English refugees at Fulta during the "Troubles" of 1756:—

When the fort of Calcutta was closely besieged by Suraja Dowlah, Mr. Drake, the Governor and many others, with several ladies of the settlement, escaped to the English ships then lying off the town, and which ships fell down as low as Fulta, one third of the distance to the mouth of the river, where they remained for seven months in the greatest distress. Mr. [Robert] Gregory, a gentleman since well known in the political world, and particularly for his knowledge in India affairs, and many years a Director of the East India Company [1769 to 1772 and 1775 to 1783: Chairman of the Court in 1782] ventured in a very

(7) The site of the "short, bloody, and decisive" battle of Biderra (as Broome calls it) is obscure. Various conjectures have been made, but the actual field of battle is probably the spot marked with drawn swords in Rennell's map of 1781, on the east bank of the Saraswati ("the broad and deep ditch," which threw the Dutch into confusion), a little to the south of Chandernagore. After Biderra, the Dutch were compelled to dismantle their fortifications and to send away their fleet; and their military force for the protection of their factories was limited to 125 men.

heavy gale of wind, in a country boat to pass Calcutta, and proceeded to Chandernagore, to solicit assistance from the French Governor, who received him with all the personal politeness that is the mark of that nation, but without offering anything to remove the distress of the English at Fulta. From the French Mr. Gregory proceeded to the Dutch Settlement at Chinsurah, where he was received with unaffected good manners and friendliness. After relating the distresses his countrymen laboured under, the Dutch Governor prepared for their relief: and his lady went round the settlement and procured linen and other articles, for the accommodation and comfort of the ladies: and, in the course of two days, the Governor dispatched a sloop under the command of Mr. Van Staten, their commander-in-chief, to the English, loaded with several articles of provisions, many chests of wine, and twenty leaguers of arrack, for the use of the people. At the same time this humanity was shown to the people on board the ships, the Governor's house was so filled with the distressed that had escaped from Calcutta, that he and his family were obliged to sleep on board a budgrow in the river. The name of the Dutch Governor, Mr. Adrian Bisdam, must ever be remembered by the English with respect.

Vernet who was kinsman to the famous French painter of that name, had been in his youth page to Louis XV and when second of the Dutch Factory at Calcapore in 1756, had also shewn much kindness to the English fugitives from Calcutta, of whom Hastings was one. His daughter, Johanna, married on November 6, 1779, as his second wife, Henry Ramus, of the Company's service, who was brother of Lady Day (Benedicta Ramus) wife of Sir John Day, the Advocate-General. Mrs. Hastings arranged the match and Francis notes in his diary (November 1779) that Day "appears to be excessively hurt.....he says it (the marriage) has been hurried in an extraordinary manner by Mrs. Hastings." Ross received several visits at Chinsurah from the Governor-General and his wife. He took grave offence in 1781, when war broke out with Holland, at the despatch of a subaltern and fourteen men to take possession of the factory, and refused to surrender until a whole regiment of sepoys was sent. (It was restored at the peace of 1783).

Isaac Titsingh had been chief of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki in Japan from 1777 to 1784 before coming to Chinsurah, and while Director in Bengal formed a friendship with Sir William Jones. In 1794 he went as minister to Peking, and died at Paris in 1812. Van Braam was Director when the settlement, which had again been seized by the English in 1795 and administered by them until 1817, was handed back to the Dutch. "On the occasion of the rehoisting of the Dutch flag at Chinsurah on Monday last," says the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 18, 1817, "the Hon'ble J. A. van Braam gave a grand dinner, and in the evening, a Ball and Supper, to Mr. Forbes, the English Commissioner, and Principal families in Chinsurah, Chandernagore and Serampore."

THE HATCHMENTS IN CHINSURAH CHURCH.

The hatchments of various notables, including some of these Directors, are displayed on the walls of the Church. They are fourteen in number, lozenge-shaped, and hung almost too high to be easily read. In *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 1006) Mr. J. J. Cotton gives the following names :—François de Hase (1676) Nicolaas Bankes (1683) Martinus Huysman (1685) Pieter van Dishoek (1701) George Louis Vernet (1777) and Pieter Brueys (1783) once Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge "Concordia" which was established by Vernet. (8) According to the *District Gazetteer* (p. 278) the oldest are those of W. A. (1662) and Rogier van Heyningen (1665).

By the kindness of Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., the Principal of the Hooghly College, (9) and a member of the Society, we are able to give a transcription of the inscriptions that remain decipherable, and we print it below, with necessary references to the list made by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson some thirty years ago, at a time when the condition of the hatchments was better than it unhappily is to-day (*Monuments and Inscriptions in Bengal: Calcutta 1896* : pp. 122—124).

1. In the verandah or outer aisle, on the east are four hatchments :

1. Pieter Brueys—opper Koopman en Hoofd administrateur overleeden te Chintsura, 23 August[us] 1783.

(Senior Merchant and Chief Administrator, died at Chinsurah, August 23, 1783).

Arms : per pale argent a pillar (?) per pale sable (?) The device is undecipherable and the colours reveal a debased heraldry.

Wilson has the following :—

Pieter Brueys Van's Hage Opper Koopman en Hoofde Administrateur overleeden te Chintsura den 23 Augustus Anno 1783 in den Ouderdon Van 52 Jaeren 9 maanen 17 daagen.

Arms : party per pale vert and argent, dexter a column argent crowned or, sinister a flower gules. Crest : a flower gules.

It will be observed that Brueys was not Director, but Chief Administrator, ranking third in Council.

(8) "Something more than a quarter of an hour's walk out of Chinsurah, towards Chandernagore, a large and handsome house was erected, during the direction of Mr. Vernet, as a lodge for the freemasons, which was completed and inaugurated while I was there. This festivity concluded in the evening with a magnificent fire-work and ball, at which the chief English and French ladies and gentlemen were equally present." Stavorinus.

(9) Local tradition relates that the fine building occupied by the Hooghly College was erected by the famous General Perron, who lived at Chinsurah for about a year after his surrender to Lake in 1803. On his departure for Europe the house came into possession of Prankissen Haldar, a leading Zemindar of the district, and magnificent entertainments are said to have been given by him in the large hall. He was subsequently convicted of forging Government securities and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment : and the premises were eventually acquired for the College which "was established through the munificence of the late Mohamad Mohsin, and opened on the 1st of August, 1836," as a stone in the Hall testifies.

2. P. V. D. obijt 1701.

The achievement and name are illegible.

Wilson comes to our aid. His version is :

P(ieter) v(an) D(ishoek). Obijt 12 Janu : Ao. 1701. Arms (not very legible) : party per fess gules and sable. Crest : three torches argent flamed gules.

3. Den Weledelen Achtbaar Heer George Lou : Vernet inleeven Directeur.
. . . Jan : 1711, obijt tot Batavia, 1775.

(The Noble and Worshipful Mr. George Louis Vernet, late Director).

Arms : gules, a bend or sinister, in chief a star of the second.

Wilson supplies the missing words, and interprets the achievement somewhat differently :

Den Weledelen Achtbaaren Heer George Lou[is] Vernet in Leeven Directeur [van Bengalen geboren tot's Gravenhage den] 11 Januarij ano. 1711 obijt tot Batavia [den 13 December] 1775 [oud 64 Jaar :]

Arms : gules a bend sinister argent, in dexter chief a star argent. No crest.

4. Entirely illegible, except the date 1778.

The date enables us to gain a clue from Wilson :

Tammerus Canter Visscher in Leeven Opper Koopman Secunde der Bengalsche Directie en opper hoofde de Cassimbassa[ar] Geb : te Pen[jum] in Vriesland den 11 Augustus ann : 1729 ob : te Cassimbasaar den[31] Januar : anno 1778 oud 48 Jaaren 5 Maanen en 20 daagen.

(Late Senior Merchant. Second Member of the Direction in Bengal and Chief of Cossimbazar [Calcapore], born at Penjum in Friesland on August 11, 1729, died at Cossimbazar on January 31, 1778, at the age of 48 years 5 months and 20 days).

Arms : quarterly 1st and 4th argent two muskets crossed in saltire over a sword in pale, all ppr., 2nd sable 3 mullets in fess or, 3rd gules 3 scollops argent. The crest and that portion of the inscription which is enclosed in brackets, had peeled off, when Dr. Wilson made his copy.

II. On the east wall of the Church are three more :

5. T. A. Bodle : ob : 15 December 1774.

Arms displayed on a lozenge surmounted by a ducal coronet : first and fourth, gules a cherubim or, displayed proper : second and third three fleur-de-lys or.

The lozenge makes it clear that the person commemorated is a lady : and her identity is thus revealed by Wilson :

T[heodora] A[ntoinette Mejuffrouw] Bodle. ob. 15 Dec. 1774 aet : 45

Arms : quarterly 1st and 4th an angel displayed ppr., 2nd and 3rd azure three fleurs de lys or. Supporters two griffins party per pale azure and argent. Surmounted by the coronet of a Marquis. No crest.

6. Name and date illegible.

Arms: gules a leopard (?) or, passant guardant, in chief two stars of the second.

This achievement is surrounded by four small escutcheons of pretence, the achievements of which are undecipherable.

This must be the following as copied by Wilson:

[Francois de Hase.] Obijt de Hasen-velter den 26 October anno 1676. Below are two coats of arms over which are inscribed the names Van Wissel and Van Essen. One only was decipherable.

Arms: gules two stars or, in chief a hare courant or. Crest: a demi hare courant or.

7. Name illegible: 1732 (?)

Arms: two bears sable rampant, in combat. Crest, a bear sable, Wilson is only partially able to help us here.

R. B. Obijt 28 Novr. a. 1733.

Arms: gules two bears sejant sable. Crest: a bear sejant sable. Surmounted by a knight's helmet.

III. On the south wall, of the Church are three:

8. W. A. 1668.

Arms: or, a double fleur de-lys gules.

Wilson's date is wrongly transcribed, but otherwise the description is full one.

Obijt W. A. den 13 Augustus ano. 1662.

Arms: or two fleurs de-lys gules. Crest: a moor's head couped sable filleted or.

(The date should be 1668).

9. N. B. 1683.

Arms: argent an eagle sable displayed proper, per pale gules a device which is illegible.

Wilson's version is complete.

Nicolaas Bankes. Obijt 19 Meij. Ao. 1683.

Arms: party per pale argent and sable, dexter a demi eagle displayed sable, sinister a device $\frac{4}{N. B}$ Crest: a horse's head erased argent.

10. R. V. H. 1665.

Arms: or fesswise three batons gules: in chief a demi-lyon rampant of the second. Crest, a demi-lyon rampant, gules, on a cap of maintenance.

This hatchment is one of the best from a heraldic point of view.

The necessary details are once more furnished by Wilson.

[Rogier van Heyningen.] Obijt R. V. H. den 9 Juni anno 1665.

Arms: or in chief a lion decouped gules, in base three pellets. Crest: a lion decouped gules.

IV. Lastly, on the west wall are four :

11. M. H. 1685.

Arms : partially obliterated.

Wilson gives no achievement, but has the following.

M[arten] H[uyman]. Obijt 5 Juni Ano. 1685.

(Director from 1684 to 1685).

12. Name and arms illegible : 1700 (?)

A study of Wilson's list would seem to indicate the following restoration :

Jno. Isinck geb. 9 Julij 1709 te Groningen. Gestorven 25 Sept. 17—.

No achievement.

The date deciphered as 1700 is probably 1709.

13. Theodora Hendrika Piekenbroek in Leeven Huysvrouw

Van D. Agtbr. Heer Boudewijn

Verselewel Faure ond : eerste

Secretaris van D. Hooge Regering

en Directeur

space for

van Bengalen

geboren tot

coat of

Batavia

den 21 Julij

arms

anno 1746

obijt tot Bengalen

den 27 Mart. Ao. 1770 oud

23 Jaaren 8 Maanen

en 6 daagen.

Arms on a lozenge argent a gryphon rampant gules. Surmounted by Countess's coronet.

This hatchment is in excellent preservation and the inscription can be plainly read. Van D. Agtbr is an abbreviation for "van den Achtbaaren." The translation runs:—"Late wife of the Worshipful Mr. Boudewyn Verselewel Faure, first under-Secretary of the High Government and Director of Bengal, born at Batavia on July 21, 1746, died in Bengal on March 27, 1770, aged 23 years 8 months, 6 days."

14. Boudewijn

Verselewel

Faure in Leeven ond :

eerste secretaris van de

Hooge Regering en Directeur .

[van] Bengalen

(Coat of arms)

geboren tot Dendermonde

den 25 Jan. anno 1734.

obijt tot Bengalen den 6 Meij anno 1770 oud

36 Jaaren 5 Maan.

en 11 Daagen.

Arms : chequy argent and gules, in chief or a bull's head sable couped ppr. Crest : two wings, sinister argent, dexter gules.

Mr. Ramsbotham notes: "Although no coronet is displayed as in the wife's achievement, the coat as blazoned is obviously a good one."

In addition to these fourteen hatchments, there are three stones in the vestry, let into the wall. Mention has already been made of the centre stone which commemorates the building of the tower by Director Sichterman in 1742.

The left hand stone is thus inscribed:

· Petrus Andrea Zinner
geboren den 2 April, 1769
overleeden den 1 Xber 1769
zoon van den capit: militair
· Jan Hendrik Zinner

A skeleton is then drawn (10) and the following lines appear below:

Soo ghy nubent was ick voor dese
Soo ick nuben sult ghy ook noch wiese
(As thou art, I was ere now:
As I am now, thou shalt be too.)

The right hand stone bears the following inscription:

Arnolda Johanna
dochter van den Capitan Militair
Jan Hendrik Zinner
Geboren den 11 Februarij A.D. 1765
overleeden den 12 Februarij A.D. 1767.
oud 2 jaaren 10 lenren.

(The infant son and daughter of the Captain of the Troops).

An English translation has recently been placed above the daughter tabler in which "lenren" is rendered "hours."

Wilson gives in addition an inscription to a third child of the same family who died on October 7, 16, 1768, aged seven months and eighteen days: but it does not appear to have been preserved.

Ten of the hatchments are earlier in date than the church (1767) and were probably brought from Fort Gustavus. Mr. Johan van Manen, to whom we are indebted for assistance in the translation of the Dutch inscriptions, informs us that the neglected condition of the hatchments in the Church has lately engaged the attention of the Dutch residents of Calcutta; but that no practical steps have yet been taken. From the foregoing description it will be seen that in more than one instance the process of decay has gone too far to be arrested. Mr. Ramsbotham, who has twice examined the hatchments with the utmost care, writes that they were removed from their original position, (high up near the roof of the church, where they could scarcely be seen) and hung as they now are by Mr. Bradley Birt, when Collector of Hooghly from 1915 to 1917. But they are still difficult of access, and it is necessary to mount a chair in order to make out the inscriptions. The paint in several cases is much faded. In several cases also the achievements are hopelessly

(10) Mr. Fulford Williams in his article makes mention of two skeletons and an hour glass.

inaccurate and break the first rules of heraldry, for example, by charging colour on colour. It would seem that some of the "directeurs" were not *armigeri* by birth, but were provided with an achievement by un-heraldically minded friends.

Mr. Toynbee observes in his book that "no token remains to tell that the settlement once belonged to the Dutch but the escutcheons of the Governors which still continue to adorn the walls of the Church." This is not strictly correct. Many records (Dorp Books) in the Dutch language are stored in the Judge's office. The remains of a road called "Van Hoorn's Dyke" were to be seen in the time of Mr. Toynbee himself (1888) between Chinsurah and Chandernagore railway station. A still more impressive relic survives in the shape of the tomb of Mrs. Susannah Yeates which is to be found near the fourth furlong post of the 25th mile on the Grand Trunk Road. This was specifically handed over, along with the church and the cemetery, to the Bishop of Calcutta on the final evacuation of the settlement by the Dutch on May 7, 1825. It is thus described by Col. D. G. Crawford I.M.S. (*Bengal Past and Present* vol. III p. 98):

The Tomb is a fine old mausoleum some thirty feet high. An arched chamber some fifteen feet high stands on a small slate plinth six feet high, and above it rises a dome with a small pinnacle on its summit. Round the dome, in letters nearly a foot high, is inscribed the name "Susanna Anna Maria Yeates." In the large chamber is a slab with an epitaph in Dutch:

"Ter Gedagtenis van Susanna Anna Maria Yeates Geboorene Verkerk obit den 12 Majj Anno 1809."

Ik Lag in het graft zonder geklag
 En rust dar tot den jongsten dag
 Dan zult gy Heer mijn graft out dekken
 En mij ter eeuwige Vreng verstrekken.
 (I lie in this grave without complaint
 In rest until the Judgment Day
 Then shall you, Lord, open my grave
 And take me to eternal joy).

The first husband of the lady was Pieter Brueys (the subject of one of the hatchments in the church) and she then married one Thomas Yeates. By a will executed in 1805 she left the sum of Rs. 4,000 to the inhabitants of Chinsurah upon trust. The interest was to be applied in the first instance to the upkeep of the tombs of herself and her two husbands, and the surplus was to be paid into the Chinsurah Poor Fund which was established by the Dutch Government prior to the British occupation in 1795, and enables the magistrate to give small pensions to various poor Christians. Mrs. Yeates also left a house known as Ayesh Bagh on the Taldanga road, together with *sixty bighas of land, to be used as a burying ground for the English and Dutch residents.* She was herself buried in the garden, but the rest of the

direction was not carried out, the existing cemetery being enlarged instead in the year 1833.

In the Catholic chapel (which was built in 1740) another memorial of the Dutch occupation may be seen in the shape of a bell with the following inscription, as recorded by the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J.: "Ioan: Nicolaus Derck me fecit Hoornae ao. 1734." (Jan Nicolaas Derck made me at Hoorn in 1734).

There are also numerous tombs of Dutch officials in the old Dutch cemetery Chinsurah must have been a healthy place in the days of the Mynheers: for one of them commemorates Gregory Herklote, Fiscal of Chinsurah, who resided there for 43 years and died at the age of 84 in 1852, leaving eighty-one descendants. Daniel Overbeck, the last Dutch Director who was pensioned off and died in 1840 (11), and his son (1831) may also be found here. On the latter's tomb are engraved the pathetic words: "His father envies him his grave." Here too are buried two married daughters of Charles Weston who lived at Chinsurah in the 1780's and on the first of each month made it his practice to distribute a hundred gold mohurs to the poor. Another tombstone in the cemetery records the death in 1793 of Mrs. H. A. Borwater, "relict of the Hon'ble George Louis Vernet Ci-devant Director of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal." (12) And, if we choose to make a search, who knows that we may not light upon the tombs of "the antient merchant van der Zank "

(11) Both Herklots and Overbeck were examined as witnesses at the trial at Hooghly in November, 1838, of the mysterious individual who claimed to be Protap Chand, the son of Maharajadhiraj Bahadur Tej Chand of Burdwan. Overbeck who had known the real Protap Chand well up to the time of his death in January, 1821, deposed that the prisoner in his opinion was the "Chota Raja" and that he was the original of George Chinnery's portrait of Protap Chand, which was produced in Court. Herklots had "no precise recollection" of Protap Chand's features, but gave it as his impression that the prisoner was not the Raja. Allusion was made by Overbeck to the strong rumour current at the time of Protap Chand's death that the Raja had fled from the burning ghat at Kalna, and that a trunk filled with ashes was placed on the pyre and consumed. The prisoner was convicted: and on the case being referred to the Court of Nizamut Adwlut at the Presidency, he was declared to be a person of the name of Krishna Lal Brahmachari, of the village of Goari in the Nadia district. He was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1,000 and in default to imprisonment for six months: and died at Barnagore at the end of 1857 or the beginning of 1858. The case created an enormous sensation. Mr. Toynbee (p. 152) quotes the Magistrate of Hooghly (Mr. E. A. Samuells) as writing in June, 1838, that it was most necessary to bring the proceedings to a speedy conclusion in order to "allay the excitement which at present prevails with imminent danger to the peace of the country." For those who are able to read Bengali, a good book upon the subject of this case is "Jai Pratapchand" by Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee.

(12) In this cemetery also was buried the infant son of "Colonel George William Hessing in the Service of Dowlut Row Scindiah" who died on July 27, 1806, at the age of 3 years 8 months and 21 days. Hessing surrendered when Lake captured the Fort of Agra in 1804, and retired to Chinsurah with a fortune of five lakhs of rupees. He removed later on to Calcutta, and died there on January 6, 1826, at the age of 44 years. His mother was an Indian woman and his father, Colonel John Hessing, was a Dutchman who came out to India in 1764, and after a variety of adventures filled the post of commandant of the Fort at Agra under Scindian from 1800 until his death on July 21, 1803, at the age of 63. Lord Metcalfe, when assistant resident in the camp of Scindiah, breakfasted with him in March, 1801, and found "the Dutchman as polite as a Dutchman could be."

and "the widow van der Zee," with whom good Mr. Simms, senior assistant in the firm of Messrs. Sheringham, Leith, Badgery, and Hay, used to take tea?

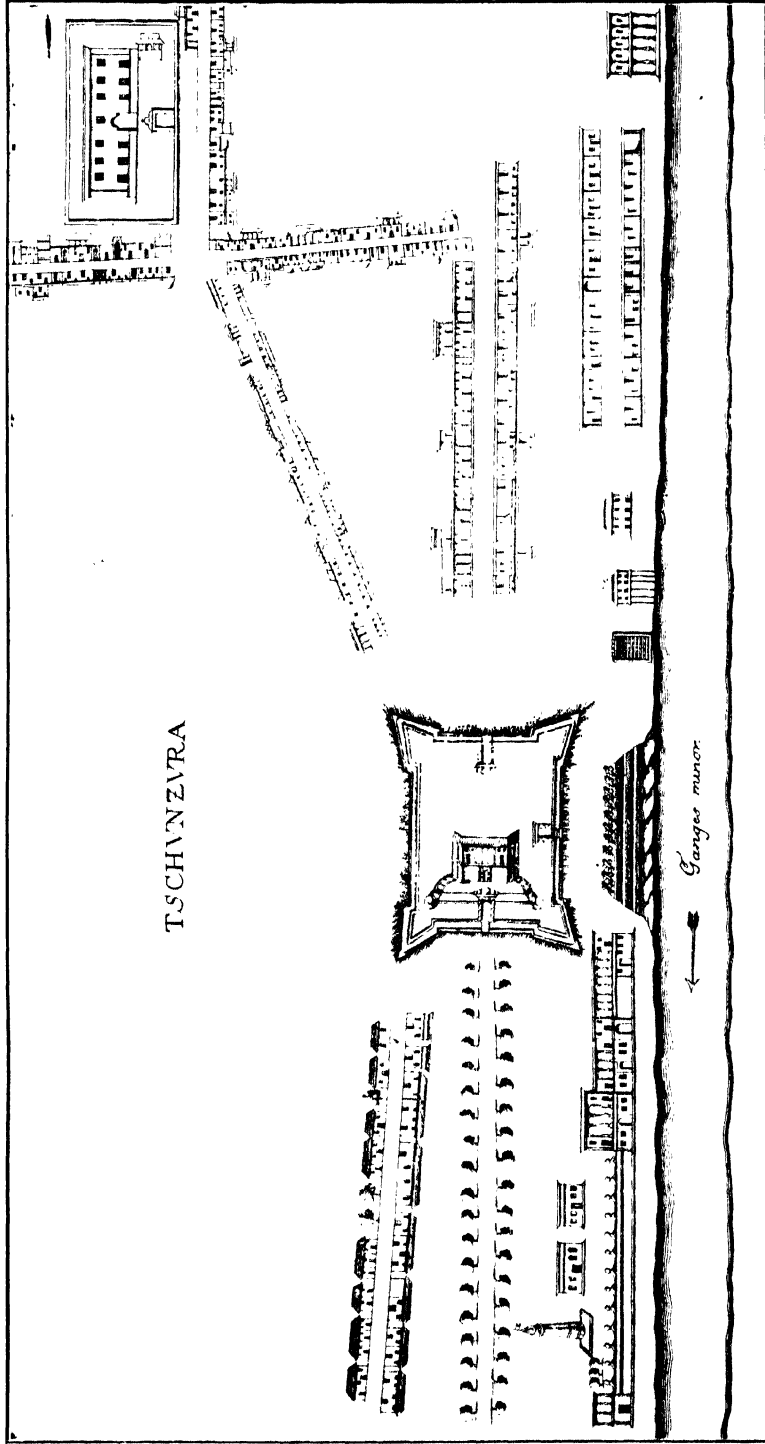
Time was, indeed, when Chinsurah was looked upon a desirable "week end" resort for the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta: and rents were high. A two-storeyed large house, on the river side, is advertised (for example) in the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 15, 1784, to let at Chinsurah, at a monthly rental of Rs. 250. William Lushington, of the Company's service, and brother of Henry Lushington, who survived the Black Hole only to be murdered at Patna in 1763 by the infamous Sumroo, had a house there: an "elegant commodious upper roomed house, known as Houghly Hall, situate on the banks of the river at Houghly, and commanding a most delightful and extensive prospect." (May 13, 1790). The Dutchmen themselves lived in great state. On April 30, 1789, the house is advertised for sale of the late A. Bogaard, second in Council at Chinsurah. It is described as a large dwelling house with two halls, eight lower rooms, and one upper room. There was in addition a garden house, two miles to the west, with 29 bighas of ground, containing fruit trees, two tanks, and a deer park well stocked with twenty different kinds of deer.

At Chinsurah also the beautiful Miss Emma Wrangham, who figures in Hicky's *Gazette* as "Turban Conquest, the Chinsurah Belle," held her court and it was there that her marriage was solemnized on May 27, 1782 with John Bristow, of the Company's service, a constant attendant at the levees of Philip Francis, while the quarrel with Hastings was at its height. Francis also, after the legal proceedings which followed his escapade at Grand's house, established the lady who had cost him fifty thousand sicca rupees ("siccas, siccas, brother Impey") at Hooghly in September 1779 under the charge of his cousin Major Philip Baggs, a notorious gambler and so-called "sportsman," who had just arrived in Calcutta, fresh from a duel in France with "Fighting Fitzgerald," another gentleman of the same kidney (13). The entries in his diary show that Francis was a frequent visitor. "At Hooghly where I propose to stay as long as I can, and visit Calcutta as seldom as I can," he writes on November 2, 1779. But Baggs was ordered out of India by the Court of Directors, and sailed on January 3, 1780, when the house was advertised for sale in Hicky's *Gazette*: and Francis followed his example in December of the same year.

Such are some of the memories which cluster around this Old Dutch settlement: but they are memories only. In 1829 there were seventy-six Christian, and presumably, European, inhabitants of eighteen years and over in Chinsura. Nowadays the only European residents are Government officials, railway men, and missionaries. Ichabod. The glory of the Old Dutch Settlement, once "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes," has departed.

H. E. A. COTTON

(13) There is a reference in the second volume of "The Memoirs of William Hickey" to "Jack Baggs," the Major's brother, who was keeping a tavern in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1775, after having run through £25,000 in London in the course of four years.



PLAN OF CHINSURAH—1765 :
(From Father J. Tieffenthaler's Description de l'Inde)

Appendix.

FATHER J. TIEFFENTHALER'S PLAN OF CHINSURAH (1765).

Father Joseph Tieffenthaler S.J. was a native of Bolzano (Botzen) in the Tyrol and arrived at Surat by a Portuguese boat from Goa in 1743. He spent forty-two years in India, and a plain tombstone at the back of the old Catholic Church at Lucknow marks his last resting place. It is inscribed: "Father J. Tieffenthaler. Died at Lacnoi on 5th July, 1785." His travels covered the greater part of Upper India and the Deccan: and he made a journey in 1765 from Narwar in Central India to Bengal. There is, strangely enough, no account of Calcutta in his historical and geographical "Beschreibung von Hindostan," which was originally written in Latin and was published in German by Dr. John Bernouilli, a Berlin astronomer of repute, in 1785. A complete copy of this German version in two volumes is to be seen in the library of St. Mary's College, Kurseong, and an edition in French in three volumes ("Description de l'Inde") is in the library of the late Archbishop of Goethals at Calcutta. The work contains forty maps, plans of fortresses and views of cities, most of which are drawn by Tieffenthaler. A second book (also brought out by Bernouilli) gives a description of the Ganges with three large maps showing the course of that river and the Gogra. (See "Joseph Tieffenthaler S.J., a Forgotten Geographer of India": by the Rev. Father S. Noti, S.J., published at Bombay, in 1906: a copy of which was obligingly lent to the writer by the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J.).

The plan of Chinsurah in 1765, which faces this page, is taken from the "Description de l'Inde." Other places of which plans are given are Bandel, Chandernagore, Moorshidabad, and Cossimbazar, including Calcapore.

Father Tieffenthaler's account of Chinsurah is thus given in the French edition of the book (Berlin, 1786: Vol. I, p. 456):

Attenant à Hougli est Tschunsura, Colonie Hollandoise, avec un port.

Les maisons y sont construites à la manière d'Europe: elle est très penplée à cause de sa commerce. Sa forteresse est munie de 4 bastions et d'un fossé selon les formes de l'architecture militaire de l'Europe: 24 canons garnissent le rivage et en defendent l'approche aux navires ennemis.

La maison grande et magnifique du Gouverneur Hollandois est dans l'enceinte de la forteresse et accompagnée d'un beau jardin situé sur le rivage orné de bâtimens et planté pour la récréation. Les principales rues sont assez larges pour le pays, celle surtout qui mène à la place due marché.

Baptisms in Calcutta : 1767 to 1777.

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which the first instalment is now printed covering the period from 1767 to 1777) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Register have appeared in the following volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* :—

- Baptisms in Calcutta : 1713 to 1758 : Vol. XXI, pp. 142 to 159.
1759 to 1766 : Vol. V, pp. 325 to 332.
Marriages in Calcutta : 1713 to 1754 : Vol. IX, pp. 217 to 243.
1759 to 1779 : Vol. IV, pp. 486 to 512.
1780 to 1785 : Vol. VII, pp. 164 to 171.
1785 to 1792 : Vol. XVI, pp. 41 to 71.
1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register) : Vol. XXI,
pp. 76 to 141.
Burials in Calcutta : 1713 to 1755 : Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.
1759 to 1761 : Vol. V, pp. 136 to 142.
1762 to 1774 : Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

1767.

- Jan. — Elizabeth, daughter of Willm. Bowey and Thomzey, his wife.
Mar. 26. Daniel, son of John Woodward.
June 16. Ann, daughter of Hugh Baillie and Ann, his wife, (1).
Aug. — James, son of Jas. Leighler.
Sept. 8. Charlotte, daughter of Richd. Becher, Esq., of Council and Ann,
his wife, (2).
Nov. 7. Charlotte, daughter of John Taylor, and Dorothy, his wife, (3).
„ 10. Elizth. Hannah, daughter of Thos. Gibson and Elizth., ditto.
„ 12. Francis Willm., son of Francis Sykes, Esq., of Council and
Catharine, his wife, (4).
Dec. 2. Ann, daughter of Geo. Scott.
„ 12. Ann, daughter of Robt. Shearman.
„ 21. Sarah Jane, daughter of John Morris and Jane, his wife.
„ 29. Belinda, daughter of Capt. Jno. Skinner.
„ 30. Mary, daughter of Jno. Cresceptor.

1768.

- Jan. 4. Susanna Ann, daughter of Henry Goodwin and Susanna, his wife.
„ 13. Mary, daughter of Major Jno. Cummings, (5).

- Jan. 20. Eleanor, daughter of Geo. Williamson and Eleanor, his wife.
 „ 25. John, son of John Knott, (6).
 „ 31. John, son of John Heylass.
 June 25. Frances, daughter of Arthur Achmuty, Esq., and Ursula, his wife,
 (7).
 Oct. 15. Geo. Henry, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., and Sarah, his wife, (8).
 „ 26. Sarah, daughter of Capt. Thos. Pearson, and Sarah, Do., lately
 deceased, (9).
 Nov. 7. William, son of Capt. Benjamin Ashe and Mary, his wife.
 „ 11. James, son of Mr. Jas. Mackie, Captn. of a Country Ship, by a
 Portuguese named Catelamontiere.
 Dec. 11. Richd., son of John Harpur Hudson, Pilot's Service, by a slave
 named Fanny.
 „ 12. William, son of Chas. Weston, and Amelia, his wife, (10).
 „ 24. John, son of Francis Sykes, Esq., of Council and Catharine, his
 wife, (11).
 „ 27. Ann, daughter of Mrs. Rebecca Tingle, widow.
 „ 30. Margaret, daughter of Page Keble, Esq., and Christian, his wife,
 (12).

(Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain.*

1769.

- Jan. 6. Jane, daughter of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, Do., (13).
 „ 18. Richd., son of Mr. John Man by a Portuguese named Dominga.
 „ 21. Christina, daughter of Hugh Baillie, Esq., and Ann, his wife.
 Feb. 7. Ann Droza, (f). late a slave belonging to Mr. Michael Eaton.
 Aged 15.
 Mar. 9. Thos. Robt., son of Mr. John Knott.
 „ 15. John Wedderburn Saml. Thomas, son of Capt. John Miller and
 Isabella, his wife, (14).
 „ 16. Harry Verelst, son of Lionel Darell, Esq., and Isabella, his wife
 (15).
 „ 28. Walter Wright, son of Thos. Rumbold, Esq., (16).
 April 23. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Willm. Richards, Capt. of a country
 vessel, by a Portuguese named Catharine.
 June 17. Catharine Paulina, daughter of Thos. Gibson, Esq., and Elizth..
 his wife.
 Sept. 1. Ann, daughter of Jas. Brewther, Pilot's Service, and Ann, his wife.
 „ 24. Anna Maria Theresa, daughter of Capt. Willm. Tolly and Anna
 Maria, Do., (17).
 Nov. 14. Edward, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., and Sarah, Do., (18).
 „ 27. Willm., son of Willm. Hall Inhabitant.

(Sd.) T. Yate.

- Dec. 9. Anna Bella }
 Elizabeth } twin daughters of Capt. Horton Briscoe and Maria,
 his wife, (19).
 .. 15. Jane, daughter of Mr. Robt. Stewart, Capt. of a country ship.
 .. 15. Christian, daughter of Capt. Jas. Stewart, deceased.
 .. 15. Willm., son of Jos. Greenway, Free Merchant.
 .. 15. Mary, (f). a Coffre, belonging to Capt. Gordon, Master of a coun-
 try ship, lately dec'd. Aged 15.
 .. 22. Robt. Wm. John, son of Capt. Richd. Lauder, Co.'s Service.
 .. 25. Elizth., daughter of Pat. McTaggart, Captn., Country Ship.
 (Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain*.

1770.

- Jan. 1. Amelia, daughter of Erasmus Gunderstrape and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 13. Mary, daughter of Robt. Colville and Mary, Do.
 .. 22. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon and Ann, Do., (20).
 .. 24. Mary, daughter of Jas. Sidwell, Soldier in Ye. Artillery.
 .. 31. Mary, daughter of Saml. Skardon and Mary, his wife.
 Feb 13. Fleming Richd., son of Mr. Nicholas Grueber and Hannah, Do.,
 (21).
 .. 13. John, son of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, Do.
 .. 26. Robt., son of Andrew Williams, Surgn., 1st Brigade, and Elizth.,
 his wife.
 Mar. 25. James, son of Chas. Ellis, Invalid.
 April. 2. Mary, daughter of Henry Cornish, Soldr., 2nd Brigade.
 .. 19. George, son of John Budge, Capt., Country Vessel.
 May 27. George, son of Geo. Dring, Mate, Ditto.
 June 11. James, son of Mr. Chas. Weston and Amelia, his wife.
 .. 16. Charles and John, sons of Mr. Blastus Godley Wright, (22).
 .. 28. Robt. Alexr. Gregory, son of Capt. Arthur Achmuty and Ursula,
 his wife.
 (Sd.) T. Yate.
 (Sd.) Jo. Baines.
 July. 14. John, son of Mr. Willm. Atkinson.
 .. 19. Mary, daughter of John Johnson, Master in ye. Pilot's Service, and
 Joanna, his wife, (23).
 Aug. 29. Mary, daughter of Geo. Downie, Capt. of a country vessel.
 Sept. 23. Charles, son of Julia, a slave.
 Oct. 5. Charles, son of Philip Leale, a Portuguese, and Anna, his wife, (24).
 .. 12. James, son of Capt. Jas. Dunbar.
 .. 16. Phillis, daughter of Mr. Geo. Rook, Lieut., Co.'s Service and
 Phillis, his wife, (25).
 Nov. 11. Elizth., daughter of Thos. Morris, Attorney and Lucy, his wife.
 .. 18. Willm., son of Henry Roberts, Soldier.

- Nov. 18. Joseph, son of Jos. Baxter, Soldier.
 Dec. 17. Helena Frances, daughter of Major Christian Fischer and Elizth.,
 his wife, (26).
 „ 27. Richd. Fredk., son of Henry Fredk. Thompson and Sarah, his wife.
 (Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain*.

1771.

- Jan. 9. George, son of Thos. Dixon, Capt. of a country ship.
 „ 22. Mary Wortley, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Cummings and Mary,
 his wife.
 „ 29. James, son of Sarah Hearn, deceased, (27).
 „ 13. Willm., son of John Graham, Esq., and Mary, his wife, (28).
 „ 13. Frances, daughter of Ditto. and Ditto.
 Feb. 18. Robt., son of Mrs. Amelia Gunderstrape, widow.
 Mar. 24. Moses, son of Moses Underwood, (29).
 „ 26. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Gibson and Elizth., his wife. Aged 1 year.
 „ 26. Chas., son of Do. and Do. Do.
 April 2. Ann Rebecca, daughter of Mr. Robt. Crawford and Elizth., Do.
 May 21. Henry, son of Capt. Mackenzie.
 „ 27. John, son of Chas. Floyer, Esq., of Council and Catharine, his
 wife, (30).
 June 2. Robt., son of John Bryson, Invalid.
 July 15. Frances, daughter of Mr. Revell, (31).
 Aug. 30. Richard, son of Willm. Birchall.
 Sept. 3. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon and Ann, his wife.
 „ 7. John Chas., son of Chas. Augs. Fredk. Skenitz and Ann, Do.
 „ 9. Cordelia Ann, daughter of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, Do.
 Oct. 20. Fredk. Willm., son of Willm. Lane, Soldier.
 „ 21. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Geo. Hadley.
 Nov. 7. Robt., son of Robt. Macfarlane and Sarah, his wife.
 „ 9. Willm., son of John Mawn, Capt. of a country vessel.
 Dec. 4. Willm., son of Mr. Robt. Fowke and Kitty Lavinia, his wife.
 „ 6. Mary, daughter of Mr. Willm. Lushington and Paulina, Do., (32).
 „ 19. Sarah, daughter of Edward Wallis, Capt. of a country vessel.
 „ 28. Robt., son of Robt. Donald, Mate, Pilot's Service.
 „ 30. Honoria, daughter of Mr. Lionel Darrell and Isabella, his wife.
 (Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain*.

1772.

- Jan. 14. Anna Maria, daughter of Mr. Willm. Wynne and Anna Maria, his
 wife.
 „ 22. John, son of James Miller, Pilot's Service.
 „ 31. Christopher Titus, son of Willm. Swanton, Pte. in ye. Governor's
 Troop.
 „ 31. Henry, son of Lieut.-Col. John Cummings and Mary, his wife.

- Feb. 18. Catharine Mary, daughter of Mr. John Bathoe and Elizth., his wife. (33).
- Mar. 1. Rosa, daughter of Jacob Cushier, Soldr. in the Arty.
 .. 15. Ann Elizth. } children of Capt. Youens.
 Roger
- .. 18. George, (m). An orphan.
 .. 23. Louisa Ann, daughter of Mr. Simeon Droz and Frances, his wife, (34).
- April 13. George, son of Mr. Gregory. Aged about 7 years.
- May 6. James, son of Capt. Jas. Harry Shaw.
 .. 10. Robt., son of Robt. Webster, Soldr. in ye. Arty.
 .. 11. Harriet, daughter of Mr. William Barton, Factor, and Harriet, his wife, (35).
 .. 20. John, son of Capt. David Mackenzie and Ann, his wife.
 .. 29. Ann, daughter of Jas. Miller.
 .. 22. Mary, daughter of Thos. Dundas. Bapd. at Burdwan.
 Chas., son of Alexr. Murray. Rev. Dr. Burn.
 Margaret, daughter of Chas. Murray.
- June 15. Saml. Henry, son of Mr. Robt. Huit.
 .. 21. Chas., son of Simon Crawley, Corpl., Invalids.
 .. 28. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Geo. Showel.
 Wm. Johnson, *Chaplain*.
- July 10. Catharine, daughter of Mr. Pawson, (36).
 .. 20. Willm., son of Wm. Barrington and Ann, his wife.
 .. 29. Robt., son of Mr. Robt. Spencer.
- Aug. 6. Ann, daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon.
 .. 19. Sarah, daughter of Thos. Rudd and Manno, his wife.
 .. 23. Saml. } sons of Willm. Downs, Soldr.
 Willm. }
- Sept. 7. Ann, daughter of Willm. Krauss.
 .. 13. Richd., son of Richd. Prynne, Soldr.
 .. 20. John Francis, son of Francis Pinnetz and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 23. Joseph, son of Martin Branwell, Pilot's Service, and Frances, his wife.
 .. 27. Thomas, son of Major Wm. Hessman and Elizth., his wife (37).
 .. 30. Elizth., daughter of Chas. McLean, Master in ye. Pilot's Service.
- Oct. 3. Robt., son of Fredk. Hy. Thompson and Sarah, his wife.
 .. 11. Mary, daughter of John Thorby, Soldr., Arty., and Eleanor, Do.
 .. 11. Joseph, son of Jos. Wellbourne, Soldr. in ye. Arty.
 .. 11. Thos. Willm., son of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, his wife.
- Nov. 1. Laurentius, son of Chas. Ellis, Invalid.
 .. 1. Elizth., daughter of Lt.-Col. Campbell, (38).
 .. 1. Eleanor, daughter of Capt. Crosby.
 .. 22. Clarinda, daughter of Jas. Ogden, Pilot, and Clarinda, his wife.

- Nov. 26. Willm., son of Mr. Willm. Lushington and Paulina, his wife.
 .. 27. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., Do.
 .. 29. Ann, daughter of John Ruff, Soldr. in the Arty.
 Dec. 9. Mary, daughter of Mr. Fras. Gladwin, Factor, and Ann, his wife (39).
 .. 20. John, son of John Funderbank, Invalid.
 .. 23. Maria, daughter of Mr. Frans. Peacock, Free Merchant, and Sabina, his wife.
 .. 23. Maria, daughter of Mr. Touchet, (40).

1773.

- Jan. 2. John, son of John Passwater and Sarah, his wife.
 .. 2. Quarles, son of Jas. Harris, Esq., of Council and Henrietta, Do. (41).
 .. 9. Edward, son of Willm. Hall and Elizth. Do.
 .. 9. Elizth., daughter of Thos. Smith, Captn. of a country ship.
 .. 23. Chas., son of Mr. Grame.
 .. 31. Donald, son of Dond. Mackenzie, Soldr. in the Arty.
 Feb. 2. Ann, daughter of Willm. Bonfield (42).
 .. 2. Maria, daughter of Mr. Croftes (43).
 .. 13. Juliana, daughter of Mr. Robt. Barker.
 .. 13. Eliza, daughter of Capt. Geo. Burrington.
 .. 20. Henry, son of Mr. Thos. Shaw and Frances, his wife.
 .. 22. Ann, daughter of Mr. Kettle (44).
 Mar. 1. Chas. Wm. Thos., son of Mary Weekes, widow. Born, 16th July, 1770.
 .. 1. Mary Elizth. Frances, daughter of Do. Born 8th Nov., 1771.
 .. 4. Georgina Ann, daughter of Geo. Stokes, Serjt. Invalids, and Ann, his wife.
 .. 21. Ann Elizth., daughter of Mr. Robt. Dennis.
 .. 24. Arthur Hastings, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., of Council (sic) and Sarah, his wife (45).
 .. 30. Jane Georgina, daughter of Mr. Geo. Bright, Factor, and Elizth., Do.
 April 20. John, son of Edmund Leech, Serjt. in ye. 3rd-Brigade.
 May 7. Archibald, son of Archd. Robertson and Mary, his wife (46).
 .. 8. Annabella, daughter of Mr. John Summer. Born Sept. 20, 1771.
 .. 12. John, son of Richbald Reeves.
 .. 16. Willm. John Jones, son of Wm. Johnson, Sergt. in ye. 3rd-Brigade.
 .. 17. Richard, son of Richd. Finney.
 .. 23. John Hendrick, son of Richd. Stocker, Invalid.
 June 20. Amy Mary, daughter of Mr. Chas. Sealy and Mary, his wife (47).
 .. 29. Eleanor, daughter of Anthony Obrien, Pilot.

- July 4. Edwd., son of Capt. Benton, dec'd.
 .. 11. John, son of John Rivers, Invalid.
 Aug. 12. Willm. Thos., son of Ensign Thos. Brisbane.
 Sep. 12. Richd., son of Spuner and Elizth. Hicks.
 .. 19. Saml., son of John Rodgers, Soldier.
 .. 26. George, son of James Smith, Soldier.
 Oct. 24. Joseph Swallow, son of Robt. Macfarlane, Capt. of a country
 ship and Sarah, his wife, lately deceased.
 Nov. 1. Constantia Sarah, daughter of Capt. Robt. Patton and Constantia,
 his wife (48).
 .. 6. Henry, son of Mr. Willm. Lushington and Paulina, Do.
 .. 10. Willm. Orme, son of Mr. Willm. Hosea and Mary, Do. (49).
 .. 17. John, son of Mr. Cudbert Thornhill and Ursula, Do. (50).
 Dec. 5. Elizth, daughter of Willm. Watkins, Soldier.
 .. 7. Mary Diana, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Caldwell.
 .. 8. Edward, son of Mr. Cotes (51).
 .. 12. Mary, daughter of William Morris, Invalid.
 .. 15. Peter John, son of Mr. Touchet.
 .. 16. Chas., son of Mr. Bruere (52).
 .. 17. Jane, daughter of Mr. Carmichael (53).
 .. 25. Edward, son of Ed. Jackson, Soldier.
 .. 28. Elizth., daughter of John Bathoe, Esq. and Eliz.: his wife.

1774.

- Jan. 2. Amelia, daughter of Lionel Darrell, Esq. and Isabella, Do.
 .. 9. Mary, daughter of Henry Barnes, Invalid.
 .. 11. Anna Maria, daughter of Lieut. John Scott and Eliz., his wife.
 .. 16. John, son of John Grainge, Soldier.
 .. 16. William, son of Lieut.-Col. Lillyman (54).
 .. 16. Patrick, son of Lieut. Robt. Stewart.
 .. 16. Clarissa, daughter of Lieut. Harris.
 .. 23. Geo. Gowin, son of Lieut. Daniel.
 .. 28. Esther, daughter of Thos. Jones, Jr., master in ye. Militia.
 .. 29. Frances, daughter of Martin Brenwell and Frances, his wife.
 Feb. 3. Elizth. Ann, daughter of Wm. Crump and Eliz., Do.
 .. 8. Henry, son of Francis Peacock and Selina Do.
 .. 13. Ann, daughter of Wm. Lane, Serjt.
 .. 18. Ann Mary, daughter of Major Fortnom and Jane, his wife.
 .. 26. Samuel, son of Sam. Carnell and Millicent, Do.
 Mar. 6. Mary } Children of Jas. Scott. Serjt. of Invalids.
 .. 13. Elizth., daughter of Manuel Davis, Serjt. in ye. 1st Brigade.
 .. 14. Anne Johanna, daughter of Capt.-Lieut. Ezekl. Meeklewin.
 .. 15. Thos., son of Mr. Chas. Weston, Mercht., and Amelia, his wife,

- April. 16. Willm., son of Wm. Kraass and Rosina, his wife.
 „ 18. Mary Ursula, daughter of Mr. Chas. Sealy, Register of the Mayor's Court, and Mary, his wife (55).
 „ 24. Ambrose, son of Ambrose Rock, Inhabt.
 „ 24. John, son of Johathan (*sic.*) King, Inhabt.
 „ 30. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Tilly Kettle, Limner.
 May. 20. John, son of Mr. John Bristow (56).
 „ 20. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Richd. Parks, Mariner.
 „ 22. Martha, daughter of John Bryson.
 June 1. Richd. Geo., son of Chas. Croftes, Factor in ye. Co.'s service.
 July. 1. Edwd., son of Edwd. Longbotham, Soldier.
 „ 20. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Finney.
 Aug. 21. Thos., son of Mr. Richd. Green, Inhabt.
 Sep. 1. Anna Maria, daughter of Lieut. Dare and Melian, his wife (57).
 „ 2. George, son of John Graham, Esq. of Council, and Mary, his wife.
 „ 2. Eliza Rebekah, daughter of Do. Do. and Do. Do.
 „ 3. Carolina Ann, daughter of Geo. Vansittart, Esq. of Council and Sarah, Do.
 „ 3. Sarah, daughter of Mr. John Wattel and Carolina, Do.
 „ 4. Geo. Augs., son of Robt. Hooley, Soldier.
 „ 4. Ann, daughter of Mr. Richd. Knivet, Inhabt.
 „ 15. Robt. James, son of Mr. Jas. Coold, Inhabt.
 „ 16. Elinor Ann, daughter of Capt. Wm. Skinner, late in ye. service of ye. Hon. Co.
 „ 18. Saly (*sic.*), daughter of Simon Sattel, Soldier.
 Oct. 4. Caroline, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Cumming and Mary, his wife.
 „ 9. Samuel, son of Moses Conon, Taylor.
 „ 13. John Vansell, son of John Vansell.
 „ 15. Richd., son of Major Arthur Ahmuty in ye. Hon. Co.'s service and Ursula, his wife. (58).
 „ 15. Mary, daughter of David and Sophia Deane.
 „ 16. Mary, daughter of Thos. Harris.
 „ 16. Margaret, daughter of John Reeves and Margt., his wife.
 Nov. 18. Annas (*sic.*), daughter of Capt. Robt. Patton and Constantia, his wife.
 „ 20. John, son of John Power.
 „ 23. John, son of James and Rose Murray.
 „ 24. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Charles, writer, Hon. Co.'s service, and Jane, his wife.
 Dec. 12. Amelia, daughter of Richd. and Sarah Smith.
 „ 19. John, son of Thos. Pattle, Factor, Hon. Co.'s service (59), and (blank), his wife.
 „ 24. Mary, daughter of Richd. Harris.
 „ 26. Elizth., daughter of Saml. Middleton, Esq. (60).

1775.

- Jan. 2. Alexander, son of John Rous and Elizth, his wife.
 .. 3. Thos., son of Thos. Peterkin, Capt. of a country ship.
 .. 15. Harriet, daughter of Mr. James Dulwich, Surgn.
 .. 15. Robt., son of Robt. Thurton and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 22. Agnes, daughter of Mr. James Miller.
 .. 23. Saml. Howe, son of Capt. Saml. Howe Showers and Ann, his wife, (61).
- Feb. 11. Alexr., son of John Walter, Serjt.
 .. 11. Edwd., son of Mr. Edwd. Parry, Jr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service, and Amelia, his wife.
 .. 11. Eliza Sophia, daughter of Lieut. Scot, Hon. Co.'s service and Eliza, Do.
 .. 22. Maria, daughter of Mr. John Hannay. (62).
 .. 22. Harriot, daughter of Mr. Chas. Short. (63).
 .. 22. Charles, son of Mr. Chas Short.
 .. 23. Margaret, daughter of Late Patrick Clough, Surgn.
- Mar. 2. Frances Maria, daughter of Robt. Chambers, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court and Frances, his wife. (64).
 .. 8. Thos., son of David Robinson, Soldier.
 .. 22. Thos. Robt., son of John Allinghame and Chunia (?) his wife.
- April. 2. John, son of Mr. Brigs, Taylor.
 .. 19. Thomas, son of Ensign Edwards.
 .. 20. John, son of Mr. Macpherson, Sergt.
 .. 20. Mary, daughter of Mattw. Wilmot, Painter. (65).
 .. 21. Elizth., daughter of Late Jas. Lewis Brown.
 .. 21. Elizth., daughter of John Sutton, Mariner,
- May 2. Mary, daughter of Peter Gilreth.
 .. 2. Catherine, daughter of John Boltain, Soldier.
 .. 3. Willm., son of Major Tolly and Anna Maria, his wife.
- June 7. Harriot, daughter of John Marquet, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 7. Alexander, son of Daniel Macswain, Carpenter.
 .. 19. Elizth., daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Cumming and Mary, his wife.
 .. 19. Frederick, son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth. Do.
- July. 12. Margaret, daughter of Mr. Chas. Grant, writer and Jane, his wife. (66).
 .. 16. Isabella, daughter of Alexr. Smart and Mary Rosara.
 .. 23. Catharina, daughter of Willm. White, Soldier.
- Aug. 15. Lucinda, daughter of John Bathoe, Esq., Sr. Mercht., and Elizth, his wife.
 .. 17. Harriot, daughter of Mr. John Belli, Mercht., (67).
 .. 27. Richd., son of Robt. Bolton and Hora, his wife.
 .. 27. Lionel, son of Mr. Lionel Darrel, Sr. Merch, and Isabella, his wife.

- Sep. 2. Catharine, daughter of John Mackenzie, Corpl.
 „ 21. George, son of Neil Macklean, Do.
 Oct. 8. George, son of Johnathan King Cooper. (68).
 „ 8. George, son of John Dring, Mariner.
 „ 15. Mary, daughter of Lieut. John Cowe.
 „ 21. James, son of Major Arthur Ackmuty (*sic.*) and Ursula, his wife.
 Nov. 5. James, son of Jas. Roquier, Matross.
 „ 10. Frederick, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., Member of the Board of
 Commerce, and Sarah, his wife. (69).
 „ 19. Robt., son of Robt. Dunlop.
 „ 23. Richd., son of Richd. Cary.
 Dec. 2. Hastings, son of Lieut. Wm. Dare and Amelia Ann, his wife. (70).
 „ 2. Amelia, daughter of Edwd. Parry, Factor in the Co.'s service, and
 Amelia, his wife.
 „ 13. George, son of Mr. John Rosewell.
 „ 25. Charlotte Elizth., daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Fortnom and Jane,
 his wife.

1776.

- Jan. 20. Henrietta Amelia, daughter of Mr. William Cotes, Junior Mercht.,
 and Diana, his wife. (51).
 „ 20. William, son of Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.
 „ 21. Charles, son of Mr. Chas. Sealy, Register of the Supreme Court,
 and Mary, his wife.
 „ 29. Jannet, daughter of Mr. Willm. Walker, Free Merchant.
 Feb. 11. John, son of John Allen, Soldier.
 „ 11. Richard, son of Simon Suttle, Do.
 „ 24. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Merchant. (71).
 „ 24. Isabella, daughter of Mr. Francis Gladwin, Jr. Merchant.
 „ 15. Richmond, son of Mr. Peter Moore, Factor Hon. Co.'s service
 and Sarah, his wife. (72).
 Mar. 7. John Henry, son of Mr. Jas. Macknab and Christian, his wife.
 „ 15. George Gilbert, son of Mr. Page Keble, Marine Store-keeper,
 Hon. Co.'s service, and Christiana, his wife.
 „ 15. Richd., son of Mr. Wm. Evans, Writer in ye. co.'s service.
 „ 15. Amelia, daughter of Mr. Wm. Evans, Writer in ye. Co.'s service.
 „ 25. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Henry Wedderburn, Master Attendant,
 Hon. Co.'s service and Alice, his wife. (73).
 „ 26. Chas., son of Mr. Wm. Wordie, Inhabt.
 Apr. 17. John, son of Fredk. Jeke, Sergt.-Major.
 „ 17. Elizth., daughter of John Graham, Soldier.
 „ 17. Ann, daughter of Wm. Stanly, Do.
 „ 27. Saml. Robt., son of Saml. Weller, Capt. of a country ship and
 Rosa, his wife.
 „ 28. Jane, daughter of Alexr. Cameron, Sergt.

- May 6. John, son of Capt. John Jameson.
 .. 16. Robt., son of Alexr. Leslie, Pilot.
 .. 20. Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Mr. Simeon Droze, Sr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service.
- June 5. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Broad, Pilot.
 .. 10. Anna, daughter of Mr. Wm. Finney, Inhabt.
 .. 13. Anne, daughter of Mr. John Carmichael, writer, H. C.'s service.
 .. 16. Lucy, daughter of Saml. Day, Soldier.
 .. 30. Jane, daughter of Andrew Cameron, Soldier.
 .. 30. Thos., son of Thos. Harber, Soldier.
- July 10. Willm., son of Richd. Smith, Pilot.
 .. 20. Robt., son of Robt. Robertson, Inhabt., and Anne, his wife.
 .. 28. Mary, daughter of Wm. Wilkins, Sergt. and Mary, his wife.
- Aug. 22. David, son of Capt. David Moon.
 .. 25. David, son of David Mills, Soldier.
 .. 31. St. George, son of Capt. Benjamin Ashe, H. C.'s service and Mary, his wife. (74.)
 .. 31. Thos. Trognal, son of Capt. Thos. Dibdin and Elizth., his wife.
- Sep. 1. Mary, daughter of John Ruff, Soldier.
 .. 18. Chas., son of Mr. Richd. Dean, Ensign, H. C.'s service.
 .. 21. Chas. Edwd., son of Major Wm. Tolley and Mary, his wife.
 .. 22. Sarah, daughter of Joseph Ganert, Soldier.
 .. 26. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Saml. Greenaway and Mary, his wife.
 .. 29. David, son of James Miller, Pilot.
- Oct. 6. Patrick, son of Mr. Pat. Lindsay, Inhabt.
 .. 6. Zenazana, daughter of Moses Connor Taylor and Zenazanne, his wife.
 .. 6. Anne, daughter of Wm. Lane, Serjt.
 .. 18. Saml., son of Saml. Watson, Ensign, Hon. Co.'s service, and Eleanor, his wife. (75).
- Nov. 6. Maria, daughter of Capt. Horton Briscoe, Hon. Co.'s Mily. Service, and Millicent, his wife.
 .. 7. Anna Constantia, daughter of the late Mr. Hercules Durham, Inhabt. and (Blank), his wife. (76).
 .. 10. David, son of David Daniel, Serjt., and Elizth, his wife.
 .. 10. Elizth., daughter of John Whaiting, Serjt., and Hannah, Do.
 .. 11. Jane, daughter of Mr. Archibald Robertson and Mary, Do.
 .. 16. Henry Benjn. Briscoe, son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 17. James, son of Jas. Higgs, Soldier.
 .. 24. Chas., son of Alexr. McCarty, Corpl.
 .. 24. Phillis, daughter of Jas. Bailie, Soldier.
 .. 25. Thos. Fitzmaurice, son of Robt. Chambers, Esq., one of the Judges of ye. Supreme Court, and Frances, his wife. (77).
 .. 25. Eliza, daughter of Mr. Charles Newman. (78).

- Nov. 28. Jane, daughter of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of ye. Supreme Court, and (Mary), his wife. (79).
 „ 30. Saml., son of Mr. John Bellie, Inhabt.
 Dec. 1. Sarah, daughter of John Ramsdell, Corpl.
 „ 8. Margt., daughter of Geo. Bruce, Serjt.
 „ 8. Margt., daughter of Wm. Morris, Soldier.
 „ 8. Ann, daughter of Joseph Bolton, Serjt.
 „ 15. Christian, daughter of Mr. Wm. Larkins, writer, Hon. Co.'s service and Mary, his wife. (80).
 „ 31. Stainforth Johnstone, son of Capt. Johnstone, Hon. Co.'s Mily. service.
 „ 31. Thos. and Jas., sons of Thos. Cobham, Esq.

1777.

- Jan. 7. Mary, daughter of Alexr. Lawson, Inhabt.
 „ 11. Maria Jane, daughter of Mr. Chas. Grant, Secy. to the Board of Trade, and (blank), his wife.
 „ 12. Edwd., son of Mr. Peter Moore, Factor in the Hon. Co.'s service, and Sarah, his wife. (81).
 „ 12. Anne, daughter of Fredk. Domson, Matross of Artillery.
 „ 13. Saml., son of Major Ahmuty, Hon. Co.'s service, and Ursula, his wife.
 „ 19. Sophia, daughter of Danl. Dauder, Soldier.
 „ 19. Jas., son of George Whitton, Serjt., and Mary, his wife.
 „ 19. Elizth., daughter of Josiah Saunders, Soldier.
 William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- Feb. 7. Chas. Selwood, son of Wm. Marriott, Esq., Sr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service, and Jane, his wife.
 „ 9. Willm., son of Mr. Day Hort McDowal, Factor, Hon. Co.'s service. (82).
 „ 9. Anna Maria, daughter of Lieut. Richd. Long.
 „ 9. Henrietta Mary, daughter of Mr. Henry Halsey, Free Mariner.
 „ 9. Thos. Henry, son of Thos. Millard, Sergt.
 „ 18. Franklin Hancock, son of Mr. Mercer, Capt. of a country ship.
 Feb. 27. Mary, daughter of Mr. Gerard Gustavus Du Correl, Jr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service. (83).
 „ 28. Henrietta Amelia, daughter of Wm. Aldersey, Esq., President of the Board of Trade, and Henrietta, his wife. (84).
 Mar. 21. Edwd., son of Mr. Edwd. Hardwicke.
 „ 23. John, son of Lieut.-Col. John Cummings, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Mary, his wife.
 Apr. 6. Saml., son of John Brason, Serjt.
 „ 13. Mary, daughter of Aaron Spencer, Serjt., and Charlotte, his wife.

- April 15. Elizth. Morse, daughter of Mr. John Carmichael, Factor, H. C.'s service.
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- May 8. Elizth. Jane, daughter of the late Mr. Thos. Anderson, 2nd Surgn. of this Presdy., and Elizth. his wife. (85).
 .. 11. Richd., son of Duncan Mackintosh, Soldier.
 .. 11. John, son of Wm. Barr, Drummer.
 .. 19. Margt., daughter of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature. (86).
 .. 19. Kemp Hercules, son of Lieut. Harvey.
 .. 19. Helen Margt. Jane, daughter of Mr. Stark, Surgn. (87).
 .. 29. Robt., son of Mr. Alexr. Watson, Inhabt.
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- June 1. Fredk. Chas., son of Chas. (blank) and Johanna, his wife.
 .. 8. Jas., son of Jas. Hunt of ye. Arty.
 .. 20. Harriett, daughter of Nathl. Bateman, Esq., Member, Board of Trade. (88).
 .. 22. Elizth., daughter of Jacob Ward, Corpl. and Magdalene, his wife.
 .. 30. John Nathl., son of Chas. Sealy, Esq., Advocate, and Mary, his wife. (89).
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- July 13. Thos., son of Thos. Madox, Soldier.
 .. 25. Mary Melicent Hastings, daughter of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 27. George, son of Lieut.-Col. Hampton and Margaret, his wife. (90).
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- Sep. — Mary, daughter of Mr. John Bristow, H. C.'s service.
 .. 17. James, son of Jas. Hosley, Soldier.
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- Oct. 19. Ann, daughter of Henry Bagg. Do.
 .. 23. John, son of Mr. John Shore, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service. (91).
 .. 27. Letitia Elizth., daughter of Major Wm. Tolley, H. C.'s Mily. Service and Anna Maria, his wife.
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- Nov. 9. Henry, son of Mr. Edwd. Parry, H. C.'s service and Emelia, his wife.
 .. 22. Benjamin, son of Capt. Benjamin Wroe, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Elizth., his wife.
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
- Dec. 5. Sarah, daughter of Capt. Francis Forde, Master Attendant at Chittagong.
 .. 28. May, daughter of Alexr. Robinson, Bombardier of Arty., and
William Johnson, *Chaplain.*
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1). *Hugh Baillie*: a pioneer commerce in the Assam Valley. He seems to have resided chiefly at Rangamati or Goalpara. Arrived in Calcutta in 1756 as Captain of a vessel and was allowed to remain in India. Alderman of the Mayor's Court, 1757: see a reference to him in Seton Kerr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, (Vol. I, p. 191). Married Anne Pearce on January 30, 1766.

(2). *Richard Becher*: a kinsman merely, according to Sir William Hunter, of Anne, daughter of John Harman Becher, who married Richmond Thackeray in Calcutta in 1810 and on July 18, 1811, became the mother of the novelist. Richard Becher had a remarkable career. He was Fourth of Council and Chief at Dacca during the "Troubles" of 1756. His first wife Charlotte and her infant daughter were made prisoners but through the good offices of Courtin the French Chief were released and permitted to join the forlorn colony at Fulta, where the child died on November 20, 1756. Mrs. Becher died at Calcutta on October 14, 1759, at the age of 21: and her tombstone may be seen in St. John's Churchyard embedded at the foot of the Charnock Meuseolum. In that year (1759) Becher was third in Council under Clive, and from September, 1767, to May, 1768, Zemindar of Calcutta. He died in Calcutta on November 17, 1782, at the age of 61: and it is recorded on his tombstone, which is "sacred to the memory of an honest man," (*Bengal Obituary*, p. 72) that he retired to England with a competence in 1774: but "in order to prop the declining credit of a friend, he was led to put all to the hazard" and was compelled to return to India in 1781. He was readmitted as a writer, but died in the following year in great poverty. It is worthy of note that after his return, no fewer than fifteen Bechers came to India in the course of fifty years.

(3). *John Taylor*: married Mrs. Dorothy Northall, widow, on June 24, 1762. Died March 15, 1767. Probably a surgeon.

(4). *Francis Sykes*: arrived July 9, 1751, at the age of nineteen: a member of the Factory at Cossimbazar under William Watts. Resigned the service in 1760 and took home with him Warren Hastings' infant son George (by his first wife). Returned with Lord Clive in 1765, as a member of the Select Committee. Created a Baronet in 1781. Sat in the House of Commons as member first for Shaftesbury and then during five Parliaments, for Wallingford. Died on January 11, 1784. The son here mentioned succeeded as second Baronet. Mrs. Catherine Sykes (married on February 7, 1766), died in Calcutta on December 25, 1768, and is buried in South Park Street Cemetery. Her maiden name was Ridley.

(5). *John Cummings*: afterwards Sir John Cummings (Colonel, June 10, 1779). Appointed to command all the troops in the service of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, 1781. Died at St. Helena, August 26, 1786. Married Miss Mary Wedderburn on January 22, 1770. Her brother Ensign Charles Wedderburn perished in the Black Hole.

(6). *John Knott*: Mr. N. N. Ghose, in his "Memoir of Maharajah Nubkissen Bahadur" (pp. 26—29) prints a letter written from London on March 29, 1774, by Knott to "Mr. Nubkissen." It contains news of a visit to Italy by Clive: and mentions the approaching departure for Bengal of "Robert Chambers, Esq., a gentleman of respectable character and distinguished abilities" who is recommended to Nubkissen as "having a desire to learn both the Persian and Bengalee languages on his arrival in Bengal." Knott says in the letter: "I was married about the same time as Mr. Verelst was, to a sister of my cousin, Captain George Knott's, whom you may remember in Bengal. I have but one child, my wife being of tender and weakly constitution:" and adds: "I should be very happy in England, was not my little fortune exposed to so heavy a risk in Bengal by the share I hold in the joint concern in trade there under the direction of the late Mr. Hoissard. Though you were so kind as to buy that share of me, so far as related to my portions of any profits that might arise on the joint concern, yet I am still responsible for the principal amount of my share of that original stock." Mr. Daniel Hoissard, Free Merchant, died in Calcutta on October 29, 1770.

(7). *Arthur Achmuty*: Cadet, 1760: Lieutenant, August 26, 1763: Captain, December 20, 1764: Major, September 3, 1768: Lieut.-Colonel, September 13, 1779: Colonel, May 28, 1786. Died at Dinapore, December 6, 1793. Married at Calcutta, July 25, 1767, to Miss Ursula DeCruz.

(8). *George Vansittart*: of the Company's service: afterwards of Bisham Abbey, Berks, and M.P. Brother of Henry Vansittart (1732—1770), Governor of Fort William, who was lost in the *Aurora* in 1769 with Luke Scrafton and Colonel Francis Forde, and whose younger son Nicholas (born in 1768), was created Baron Bexley. Married at Calcutta on October 24, 1776, to Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Sir John Stonhouse, third Bart. of Radley, and Penelope Dashwood. George Henry, the son here baptized, became a General and died in 1824. For other sons, see notes (18), (45), (69). Lucia Stonhouse, the sister of Sarah Vansittart, married on June 12, 1770 Robert Palk, "Judge of the Court of Cutcherry," who committed Nuncomar for forgery: Sir John Brooke Stonhouse, ninth Bart. (baptized at Calcutta in 1796 and died in 1848) was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1814 to 1827 (Collector of Rajshahye, 1826): and Sir Timothy Vansittart Stonhouse, tenth baronet, was Accountant-General at Fort Saint George and provisional member of Council, and died in 1866. They were the sons of James Stonhouse, also H. E. I. C. S. (b. 1759, d. 1803) who was the stepbrother of Sarah Vansittart and Lucia Palk. The eldest brother, Neale Stonhouse (b. 1743, d. 1773) was also a writer on the Madras establishment and paymaster at Vellore.

(9). *Sarah Pearson*: (the mother of the infant baptised) died in Calcutta, September 9, 1768, aged 19. Here is the oldest existing monument in the South Park Street Cemetery. Thomas Pearson died on August 5, 1781, aged 47, and is buried near by. They were married at St. John's Church on December 2, 1767, her maiden name being Irwin. James Irwin was a senior

merchant in the Company's Service, who married Selina Brooke on April 22, 1777.

(10). *William Weston*: the child died on December 19, 1768. The father Charles Weston was born in Calcutta, 1731, and died there on December 25, 1809. He carried arms as a militiaman in 1756: and befriended Holwell in his old age. Served as a juror at the trial of Nuncoomar in June, 1775 and lived to see the Governor-Generalship of the first Lord Minto. Won the Tiretta Bazar in the lottery of 1796. A portrait of him is preserved in the vestry-room at St. John's Church. Married Amelia de Rozario on November 9, 1785. This was his first wife. Constantia his second, is buried at Bandel.

(11). *John Sykes*: afterwards R. N. Died on board the *Grampus*, January 14, 1786. His mother Catherine Sykes died on December 30, 1768. (See note (4).)

(12). *Page Keble*: Master attendant, 1765: See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V, pp. 329, 330 and 332, for baptisms of three elder children, Charles (1764), Mary (1765) and Page (1766). On the occasion of the invasion of Grand's house by Francis, "Mr. Keble called from the verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the cause of the disturbance." Married again on July 3, 1782, his second wife being Elizabeth Metham.

(13). *John Fortnom*: Civil Architect, 1765. Major and Director of the Works, 1772 (see Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 160—1, 172). Married Jane Yates on September 3, 1767. In Orig. Cons. of May 21, 1781, Warren Hastings recommends the appointment of "Masters John and Thomas Fortnom, sons of the late Col. Fortnom as minor cadets." For Master John see entry of February 13, 1770, and for Master Thomas (William) see entry of October 11, 1772.

(14). *John Wedderburn Miller*: the child died on July 26, 1769.

(15). *Lionel Darell*: created a Baronet in 1795. M. P. for Lyme Regis, 1780—84 and for Hendon, 1784—1802. Director of the East India Company from 1780 to 1803. Died in 1803. Married July 20, 1766, Isabella, daughter of Timothy Tullie (Director, 1750—1763). *Harry Verelst Darell*, 2nd Baronet, was appointed a writer on the Bengal establishment in 1790 and was Commercial Resident at (Rampur) Bauleah in 1816. Married 1809 Amelia Mary Ann, daughter of William Becher: and died, 1828. Another Darell, Henry John, was appointed a writer in 1794, and died in Calcutta on July 7, 1803.

(16). *Thomas Rumbold*: (1736—1791), afterwards Baronet and Governor of Fort Saint George. (1778—1780): Second in Council at Fort William, 1766—69. (See account of his career in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 189—192).

(17). *Capt. William Tolly*: maker of Tolly's Nullah and founder of Tollygunge. In 1778 he leased Gopalnagore and Zeerut with Belvedere House from Hastings, and in 1780 purchased Belvedere. It was to his house that Francis was taken after the duel. He became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1784 and resigned the Service in 1784. Married on April 11, 1768, in Calcutta

to (Anna) Maria Hintz. He died in 1784 at St. Helena on his way to England. It would seem from Orig. Cons. 24 November, 1783, No. 23 and 24 and O. C. 6 Jan. 1734. No. 1 that he ended his career in a hopeless state of debt to the Company.

(18). *Edward Vansittart*: see note (8).

(19). *Horton Briscoe*: was twice married: (1) to Maria Howett on February 9, 1769: and (2) to Millicent Jane Banks on July 28, 1774. Ensign, August 25, 1763: Lieutenant, April 15, 1764: Captain, July 28, 1766: Major, February 25, 1778: Lieutenant Colonel, December 4, 1781: Colonel, June 19, 1791: Major-General, December 20, 1793. Died at Calcutta, December 25, 1802. The child Anna Bella died on December 15, 1769.

(20). *Elizabeth Nixon*: died, March 22, 1770. Ann Nixon, the mother died on July 22, 1772. Joshua Nixon married Ann Bine on March 5, 1769.

(21). *Nicholas Grueber*: Zemindar of Calcutta, 1767. Chief of Cossimbazar and of Dacca, 1772. Buxey, 1774: Member of the Board of Trade, 1783.

(22). *Blastus Godley Wright*: appointed Sheriff of Calcutta on December 5, 1776, but "departed for England the same month."

(23). *Mary Johnson*: the child died on July 20, 1770.

(24). *Philip Leale (Leal)*: married a daughter of Charles Weston. The child died on December 13, 1770.

(25). *George Rook*: married Mrs. Phillis Case, widow, on November 25, 1769. Ensign, November 13, 1762: Lieutenant, May 28, 1767: Captain, June 26, 1771: resigned, June 17, 1774.

(26). *Major Christian Fischer*: Capt. Christian Fischer married Elizabeth Devril on April 19, 1761. A Swiss officer in the Company's service, who with Clive and Le Beaume formed the minority which voted before Plassey for immediate action. Took part in Colonel Francis Forde's expedition to the Northern Circars in 1759, and on December 28, captured Coconada from the French. On March 23, 1760, he joined Meer Jaffer's forces at Burdwan in the movement against Shah Alam. When the Army was reorganized in 1765 he commanded the 2nd battalion of Native Infantry stationed at Monghyr. Lieut.-Colonel 1781. Commanded at the Motee Jheel (Moorshedabad). In the Original Consultations of December, 1770, a letter may be found from him requesting a passage to Europe in the *Houghton* (499 tons, Capt. William Smith) for his daughter and nurse. (The *Houghton* arrived in the Downs, July 9, 1771).

(28). *John Graham*: came out in 1759 on the *Calcutta*. Married Miss Mary Shewin on August 8, 1762. Secretary to the Council. Resident at Midnapore, 1765. Superintendent of the Khalsa, August, 1773. Chief at Patna, January, 1772. President of the Board of Customs, 1773. Concerned in the trial of Nuncomar for conspiracy.

(29). *Moses Underwood*: died on June 29, 1771.

(30). *Charles Floyer*: one of the "4 gentlemen from Madras" brought up by Clive in 1767, during his second Governorship of Bengal, to fill vacancies on the Council at Fort William. He arrived on the Coromandel Coast on

June 9, 1755 : was Resident at Tranquebar in 1761, and Junior Merchant and Paymaster at Trichinopoly in 1764. On transfer to Bengal he became Tenth in Council and Military Storekeeper and was appointed Mintmaster and Secretary to the Select Committee in 1769 and Buxey in 1770. While in Bengal married Catherine Carvalho of Chandernagore, sister of Jean Law of Lauriston, Governor of Pondicherry. In 1771, he reverted to Fort St. George as Senior Merchant, and in 1776 was one of the members of the Governor's Council who kidnapped and imprisoned Lord Pigot. He was recalled by order of the General Court of Proprietors dated May 9, 1777, and suspended. In 1779 he was tried before the Court of King's Bench and fined £1,000. He seems then to have been permitted to return to the Coromandel Coast, for in 1782 he was appointed Chief of the Guntoor Circars. There is no further trace of his official career after that year. He was shot in a duel by Benjamin Roebuck, (writer on the Madras establishment, who died at Vizagapatam on August 13, 1809).

(31). *Henry Revell* : afterwards Collector of Customs at Chapra : opened a Custom House and bazar at Godna in 1788 : and gave his name to Revelgunge, situated seven miles west of Chapra. He is buried in the town.

(32). *William Lushington* : Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief, 1764. Supravisor of Hooghly, 1771. Resigned, October 31, 1773, and entered Parliament. Son of the Vicar of Eastbourne and brother of Henry Lushington who survived the Black Hole and was killed in the Patna Massacre (1763). Married Pauline French on March 28, 1769. Another brother, Stephen, was a Director of the East India Company from 1782 to 1802 (Chairman, 1790, 1795, 1799) and was created a baronet in 1791. The Manor House at Eastbourne, which was the birth place of these Lushingtons, has this year (1923) been acquired by the Corporation of the town and converted into a picture-gallery. There is a monument to Henry Lushington in the old Parish Church. Eight other Lushingtons served in Bengal, and four in Madras (including Stephen Rumbold Lushington, Governor of Fort Saint George from 1827 to 1832).

(33). *John Bathoe* : married Mrs. Elizabeth Lindsay, widow, on April 3, 1771. Was Resident at Malda in December, 1770, and was appointed Export Warehouse Keeper at Calcutta on March 1, 1771. Third at Dacca, February, 1772.

(34). *Simeon Droz* : gave evidence in the Grand-Francis suit. Secretary to the Council at Fort William, 1767. Sheriff of Calcutta, 1768. Appointed Fourth in Council at Patna, February, 1772. Married (1) Frances Boulet on September 2, 1767, and (2) Mary Ashe on March 1, 1777. The child Louisa Ann died on May 12, 1773.

(35). *William Barton* : clerk to the Committee of Accounts, 1763 : resigned office of Aderman of the Mayor's Court, 1760. Subsequently Resident at Luckypore and Collector of Tippera, Resident at Burdwan and President of the Board of Trade. Dismissed the service in 1786 and fled to Serampore and thence to Copenhagen, where he purchased a Danish title of nobility, and died (Hickey, Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 309). Married Harriot Higgins on July 17, 1788.

(36). *Catherine Pawson*: no doubt the "Kitty Pawson" of Hicky's Gazette. See Busteed's Echoes, p. 186. William Pawson was appointed a writer in 1765, the same year as "Sylhet" Thackeray. He was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1788.

(37). *Major William Hessman*: married Elizabeth Mills on September 15, 1768. In a letter dated November 7, 1779, "Camp at Dalmow," Brigadier General Giles Stibbert reports that Major William Hessman has been killed in a duel by Colonel Gilbert Ironside (described by Grand in his Narrative as the "Celebrated Martinet").

(38). *Lieut.-Col. Campbell*: Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B. (Governor of Fort Saint George from 1785 to 1793) was about this time Chief Engineer in Bengal—"a situation of prodigious emolument," according to William Hickey, (Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 157). As to his association with Colonel Henry Watson, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 154. He died in England in 1791 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

(39). *Francis Gladwin*: married (at Burdwan by Simon Droz) to Ann Proctor on December 5, 1769. Collector of Calcutta from November, 1788, to May, 1789, and again from 1793 to 1799. First Professor of Persian at the College of Fort William, 1801. Died about 1813.

(40). *Peter Touchet*: brother of Mrs. Motte ("Bibby" Motte). Joined with Hastings and other Old Westminsters in presenting a silver cup to Westminster School in 1777. Resident at Radhanagore.

(41). *James Harris*.—Chief of Dacca in 1771. His first wife Catherine, died in Calcutta on August 29, 1769: and on January 31, 1771, he married Henrietta, sister of "Sylhet" Thackeray (who was appointed Fourth at Dacca on August 25 of that year). Their daughter Henrietta married Sir Stephen Gaselee, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in England. Harris left India shortly after the baptism of Quarles.

(42). *William Bondfield or Bonfield*: *Auctioneer*: after whom Bonfields Lane is named. One of the Jurors who tried the indictment against J. A. Hicky for a libel on Hastings contained in the *Bengal Gazette* (No. IX, March 24, 1781). A verdict of not guilty was returned on June 27, 1781.

(43). *Charles Croftes*.—"Idle Charley" of Hicky's Gazette. Was one of Hastings' Indian Trustees, Thomas Motte being the other. Associated with Hastings in forming the experimental English farm at Sooksagur and contracted for rum for the navy, in 1784. Was engaged in the manufacture of muslins and became bankrupt in 1785. Was given the post of Chief of Chittagong where Sir William and Lady Jones stayed with him, and where he died in 1786, at the age of 42.

(44). *Mr. Kettle*.—No doubt "Tilly Kettle, Limmer." See entry of April 30, 1774 for baptism of another child. Son of a house-painter. Came out to India about 1770: See the following letter written by John Cartics, Governor of Fort William, to Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah of Oudh on November 3, 1771. (Persian correspondence Vol. III. 1770—72: No. 973): "Having learnt that the addressee wishes very much to see Mr. Kettle, a painter, the writer has ordered

him to proceed to Fyabad. Says that he is a master of his art and hopes the addressee will be much pleased with him." A similar letter was sent to Munir-ud-daulah; Naib Wazir, at Allahabad. Kettle returned to London about the year 1777 and exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1777 to 1784. He died at Aleppo in the spring of 1798, when on his return to the East. He left a widow with a son and daughter in England. His portraits of Warren Hastings and Impey are well-known.

(45). *Arthur Hastings Vansittart*.—Afterwards of the Bengal Civil Service : writer 1790 : died at Calcutta on February 19, 1807, aged 33 years, and buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. See *ante* note (8).

(46). *Archibald Robertson*.—The child died on June 21, 1773.

(47). *Charles Sealy*.—See post, note (55), on Mary Ursula Sealy. The child Amy Mary died June 21, 1773.

(48). *Robert Patton*.—was A. D. C. to Warren Hastings. Ensign, July 22, 1766 : Lieutenant, June 18, 1767 : Captain, July 4, 1771. Resigned March 2, 1773.

(49). *William Hosea*.—A nephew of Robert Orme, the historian. Collector of Hooghly 1772—73. Subsequently second of Council at Moorshedabad. A friend of Sir Robert and Lady Chambers. Married Mary Browne at Calcutta on September 17, 1772. He and his wife and child, and Thomas Fitzmaurice, the infant son of Chambers (see entry of September 25, 1776) went to Europe in the *Grosvenor* (729 tons, Captain John Coxon) which was wrecked on the African coast on August 4, 1782. The survivors perished in their attempt to reach the Dutch settlement at the Cape.

(50). *John Thornhill*.—appointed writer on Bengal Establishment 1790. Collector of 24-Pergunnahs, 1797 : Secretary to Government in Military Department, 1808. Postmaster-General, 1810. Resigned in India, February 7, 1812. Director of the East India Company from 1816 to 1840. Died February, 1841. His father *Cudbert Thornhill*, was nominated Master Attendant, in 1785 and held the post until April, 1808. During the "Troubles" of 1756 he was resident in Calcutta and escaped to Fulta. He died in Calcutta on September 21, 1809, aged 86, and is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery. The full names of his wife were Maria Ursula Thornhill. She died on May 19, 1793.

(51). *William Cotes or Coates*.—married Diana Rochfort, on January 19, 1774. Three children of the marriage were baptized at St. John's Church, Henrietta Amelia and William (on January 20, 1776) and Diana (on January 2, 1778). Was at one time Chief of Chittagong. His widow married Sir John Hadley D'Oyly on March 16, 1779. (See references in article on the Farington Diary, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 21—26).

(52). *William Bruere*.—Secretary to the Supreme Council, 1779.

(53). *John Carmichael*.—Judge Advocate-General, 1772. Paymaster of the Garrison, 1773. Married January 22, 1779 to Miss Mathilda Bie, daughter of O. Bie, subsequently (1789—1805) Danish Governor of Serampore. See entries of June 13, 1776, and April 15, 1777.

(54). *Lieut.-Col. John Lillyman*.—Chief Engineer: Architect of the present Fort William: Died at Calcutta on December 23, 1774, aged 42 years.

(55). *Marry Ursula Sealy*: married on September 15, 1794 at St. John's Church to Thomas Baring B. C. S. (Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1796) son of Sir Francis Baring Bart. (Director of the East India Company, 1779 to 1810). He retired in 1798 and succeeded as 2nd Baronet in 1810. Their eldest son, the first Baron Northbrook, was born and baptized in Calcutta: and was the father of the Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy and Governor-General of India from 1872 to 1876.

(56). *John Bristow*.—Died at Calcutta October 20, 1802, aged 52 years. His wife, (whom he married at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782) was the beautiful Emma Wrangham (Busteed, *Echoes*, p. 211). He was recalled in 1776 from Mrs. Hastings who was an "old and intimate" friend of her mother and Clavering who had carried his appointment in 1774 by a majority vote. In October 1782, however, Hastings sent him back to Lucknow: but he was finally recalled by a decision of December 31, 1783.

(57). *Anna Maria Dare*.—Died September 13, 1774. God-daughter of Mrs. Hastings who was an "old and intimate" friend of her mother and born in the same year (1747). Dare and his wife were shipwrecked off the Coromandel Coast shortly afterwards. He was drowned, and she married Captain Samuel Showers at Calcutta on November 13, 1779. (See note (61) post). Mrs. Melian Dare's letters (and the peculiar Christian name) suggest that she was a foreigner. Mrs. Hastings arranged the match between her and Captain Showers. The union was unhappy, and the husband and wife separated, after three sons had been born of the marriage. Col. Showers had a pension but refused his wife any share of it, as she had left him of her own accord. She lived on what her sons were able to send her until one of them, Lieut. Charles Lionel Showers, an officer of great promise, was killed on April 15, 1815, during the Nepal war in the assault on the fortified stronghold of Malaun (see monument in St. John's Church). Hastings sent her money for her immediate necessities and wrote to Sweny Toone, his former aide-de-camp (Director of the Company from 1800 to 1830) to put the case before the Hon'ble Court: which he did, and a grant of £70 a year was made to her, to date from the day of her son's death. (S. C. Grier, *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife*).

(58). *Richard Ahmuty*: query: writer on the Bengal establishment, 1791: Commissioner of Behar, 1797: Collector of Allahabad, 1803: Judge and Magistrate of Furruckabad, 1804. Proceeded to Europe, 1806, and resigned in England, March 30, 1808.

(59). *Thomas Pattle*.—Writer 1765 (the same year as "Sylhet" Thackeray); married Sarah Hasleby at Cossimbazar on June 10, 1770. In 1774 he was recommended by Hastings for Council at Dacca. The most famous member of the family was James Pattle who came out as a writer in 1790 and died in Calcutta on September 4, 1845, at the age of 69 after serving for nearly 55 years. There is a monument to him and his wife Adeline

(daughter of Chevalier de L'etang) in St. John's Church. (See Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, pp. 509—510).

(60). *Samuel Middleton*.—Arrived in Bengal, July 25, 1753. In 1756 made his escape from Jugdea to Fulta. Was one of the deputation sent to Moorshedabad in February, 1765 for the installation of Nawab Nazim Nujjum-ud-Dowlah and got into trouble for accepting a present. He appears as Chief of Patna in a list dated October 28, 1765. Resident at Moorshedabad and Chief of Cossimbazar, 1772. His portrait was painted by Tilly Kettle for the Freemasons of Bengal. Died at Pirpanti (N. E. of Bhagalpur) in 1775. Owned considerable property in Calcutta. Middleton Street and Middleton Row are named after him. Acted for a time as Police Magistrate at the Presidency.

(61). *Samuel How Showers*.—Married (1) Ann Hammond on January 15 1772: and (2) Mrs. Melian Dare, widow, on November 13, 1779. Ensign, December 27, 1764: Lieutenant, December 4, 1766: Captain, April 14, 1769: Major, January 5, 1781: Lieutenant-Colonel, May 28, 1786. Dismissed by order of Court-Martial, 1793. The first Mrs. Showers died at Patna in 1778.

(62). *John Hannay*.—See article on "Alexander and John Hannay" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 162—166.

(63). *Charles Short*.—Died at Russapugla in Calcutta on July 2, 1785, after twenty years' residence in India. A leading merchant. Was the owner of Short's Bazar in Lower Circular Road, and gave his name to Short Street.

(64). *Sir Robert Chambers*.—Vinerian Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, 1762—77, and Principal of New Inn Hall: appointed second judge on the constitution of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1774. Married on March 8, 1774, before coming out to Calcutta, Frances Wilton, the daughter of Joseph Wilton, R.A., a fashionable sculptor. She was then in her sixteenth year: "exquisitely beautiful," according to Dr. Johnson, while Mrs. Thrale has it that she stood for Hebe at the Royal Academy. Chambers brought out with him his wife, his mother (a Miss Metcalfe who died in Calcutta on February 7, 1782, aged 69) and his brother William who was a specialist in oriental languages and was appointed Interpreter to the Court. His Oxford professorship was specially continued to him for three years, in order to see how the climate of Bengal suited him, and John Scott (later Lord Eldon) acted as deputy. However, he stayed twenty-five years. Knighted in 1778 and became Chief Justice in 1791: retired in 1799 and died in Paris on May 9, 1803. A friend of Dr. Johnson in London and of Sir Philip Francis in Calcutta. (Francis was god-father to his son Robert Joseph: baptised at St. John's Church on July 18, 1779). Chambers lost two of his children in Calcutta: Henrietta (baptised at St. John's Church on June 22, 1778 and died July 30, 1779) and Edward Colin (baptised at St. John's Church on June 7, 1781 and died November 9, 1781). Another child, Thomas Fitzmaurice (see note (77): entry of November 25, 1776) was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, August 4, 1782. Lady Chambers survived him and died at Brighton in 1839. His nephew, Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, was appointed to be one of the

Judges of the newly-formed Supreme Court at Bombay on May 8, 1824: and embarked on a prolonged struggle with the Executive which lasted until his death on October 13, 1828.

(65). *Mathew Wilmot*, painter.—Can any member supply information with regard to this painter?

(66). *Charles Grant*: first went out to India in 1767, and supervised the private trade of Richard Becher, who was then Resident at Moorshedabad: returned to England 1771-72 and obtained a writership on the Bengal Establishment 1772-73: Secretary to the Board of Trade: appointed Commercial Resident at Malda in 1781, in charge of the silk filature: fourth member of the Board of Trade, 1787: retired 1790. Lived when in Calcutta in Grant's Lane (so named after him) in the first house on the right hand from Bentinck Street: and subsequently in Edward Wheler's house at Kidderpore. He and William Chambers (Prothonotary of the Supreme Court and brother of Sir Robert) married two sisters, Jane and Charity Fraser. Paid £10,000 to save the Old Mission Church from attachment by the Sheriff, and established a Board of Church Trustees. Director of the East India Company from 1797 to 1823: Deputy Chairman, 1804, 1807, 1808: Chairman, 1805, 1809, 1815. M.P. for Inverness-shire from 1802. Died in London, November 1823. His elder son, the Right Hon. Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg) was President of the Board of Control from November 1830 to December 1834. The younger son, Sir Robert Grant, G.C.H. was Governor of Bombay from March 1835 to July 9, 1838, when he died at Dapuri near Poona.

(67). *John Belli*.—Secretary to Hastings who mentions him in one of his letters with Richard Summer, Alexander Elliot, George Bogle, and Sir John D'Oyly, as having suffered for their loyalty to him. Charge XV of the impeachment against Hastings was as follows: "That he appointed his Private Secretary, John Belli, Esquire, to be agent for the supply of stores and provisions for the garrison of Fort William in Bengal, with a commission of 30 per cent." Belli's name appears on the Granary in Fort William, now used as a Military Works Store and erected in 1782.

(68). *Jonathan King Cooper*.—There happens to be a King Cooper's Lane in Calcutta.

(69). *Frederick Vansittart*.—Writer on Bengal Establishment, 1793: Collector of Purnea, 1803: Paymaster-General, 1812: Resigned in India, December 17, 1813, and died at St. Helena on March 24, 1814. See note (8).

(70). *Hastings Dare*.—Godson on Warren Hastings: See note (57). Subsequently in command of a Battalion in India (Grier).

(71). *Henry Grant*.—A Free Merchant: married on March 29, 1770, Alicia Camac a sister of Major Jacob Camac. They acted in England as joint guardians, with Hastings, of the younger John Hadley D'Oyly.

(72). *Peter Moore*.—Married at Patna on January 10, 1774, Sarah, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond Webb. Her sister Amelia married "Sylhet" Thackeray. Was Fifth Member of the Revenue Committee appointed by Warren Hastings. Retired and settled at Hadley. Acted as guardian

of his great-nephew the novelist went into Parliament. A strong friend and supporter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

(73). *Henry Wedderburn*.—Many years Master Attendant; married Alice Tetly at Calcutta on March 4, 1773. Died at Calcutta on November 17, 1777, aged 46 years. His tombstone in the South Park Street Cemetery (Ben. Obit. p. 70) records that he "served the Hon. E. I. Coy. in the troubles with Surajah-ud-Dowlah and Cossim Ally Cawn." His daughter Mary married Lieutenant-Colonel John Cummings on January 22, 1770: see note (5). Mrs. Wedderburn died in 1805, aged 55.

(74). *St. George Ashe*.—Grandfather of Major-General St. George D. Showers, subsequently in command of the Presidency Division of the Bengal Army. Ashe's daughter Harriet married (1) Captain John Lumsdaine and (2) July 27, 1806 at Etawah, Captain D. Showers.

(75). *Eleanor Watson*.—Mrs. Watson died on October 19, 1776, aged 25 years: and the child Samuel on October 25, 1776.

(76). *Hercules Durham*.—Advocate. Represented the Crown in the trial of Nuncoomar: Formerly in the Company's Army.

(77). *Thomas Fitzmaurice Chambers*.—This boy perished in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, August 4, 1782. The parents erected a tombstone to his memory in South Park Street Cemetery. Cf. note (64).

(78). *Charles Newman*.—Also lost in the wreck of the "Grosvenor" on the African coast, August 4, 1782. Advocate of the Supreme Court. Appeared for Grand in his case against Francis. Was sent in 1781 to Madras in accordance with instructions from the Court of Directors, to collect evidence against Sir Thomas Rumbold.

(79). *Jane Impey*.—Sir Elijah Impey married in 1768 Mary, daughter of Sir John Reade of Shipton Court, Oxfordshire. He retired from India in 1783, after nine years' service as Chief Justice and was M.P. for New Romney from 1790 to 1796. Died in 1809.

(80). *William Larkins*.—Name father of Larkins Lane in Calcutta: married Mary Harris on February 7, 1776. In March of that year Mackrabie records in his Diary: "Mrs. Larkins, a bride: her husband is a young Company's servant, under age, but looks forty, William Larkins." "The faithful Larkins" of Warren Hastings: left India in 1793, and died in 1800. He was at one time the owner of the famous picture of Warren Hastings by A. W. Devis, which bears the legend *mens aequa in arduis* and of which a copy hangs in the Council Chamber at the Calcutta Town Hall. Larkins' son Warren Hastings "who was very fond of calling himself Hastings Bahadur" and "often points up to your picture saying Jeetee Ro" died on August 20, 1788 in Calcutta: aged 4 years. On leaving India, Larkins left the picture with Charles Chapman: and in 1796 he offered it to the Government of India: "The picture which I got from Larkins," writes Chapman in that year, "now fronts that of the Marquis (Cornwallis) in the Government House." Larkins succeeded Charles Croftes as Accountant-General: and having had charge of the moneys received by Hastings for the Company—

such as gifts from Indian Princes—he was called as a witness at the trial to give evidence. His son, *John Pascal Larkins* (Writer, 1796) became senior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium and President of the Marine Board in 1823; and retired on annuity in 1827. His name appears as owner of many ships in Hardy's Register: e.g., *Walmer Castle* (1,200 tons), 1802; *Earl St. Vincent* (818 tons), 1802; *Earl Camden* (1,200 tons), 1803 and *Warren Hastings* (1,200 tons), 1803; Captain Thomas Larkins in command.

(81). *Edward Moore*.—Writer, 1796. Assistant to the Persian and Bengali Translator to the Board of Revenue, 1801. Died June 30, 1801.

(82). *Day Hort McDowall*.—Writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1770: Collector of Rungpore "with the addition of Goragaut," 1786: retired from the Service, 1789.

(83). *George Gustavas Ducarel*.—Supervisor, Purneah, 1770: succeeded Alexander Elliot as Superintendent of the Khalsa Records in 1778. Played a prominent part with Sir George Shee in the Francis Escapade at Grand's house (see Grand's Narrative, p. 85) and gave evidence at the trial. Dr. Busted quotes an amusing reference to him in a letter written by Francis in 1784 from Paris, which indicates that he was short of stature: "Ducarel has found his uncle and aunt, or rather they have found him. He was forced to get on a chair to put his arms round his uncle's neck: and he has worn my blue box to rags to keep his feet from dangling in the chaise."

(84). *William Aldersey*.—Brought up from Madras by Clive in 1767, with Charles Floyer, Thomas Kelsall and Claud Russell, to fill vacancies on the Council at Fort William. Arrived on the Coromandel Coast, June 8, 1759. Factor and Secretary in the Secret Department, and Translator, 1761: Junior Merchant, Secretary, Solicitor and Clerk of Appeals, 1766: transferred to Bengal as Sixth Member of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper and Buxey, 1767. Chief at Cossimbazar, 1771: Second in Council at Fort William during the first administration of Warren Hastings and acted as Governor during his absence from the Presidency in September, 1773. President of the Board of Trade, 1778, and succeeded in 1779 by Philip Milner Dacres (name-father of Dacres Lane in Calcutta). Married on February 28, 1775, when "Member of the Council of Commerce," to Henrietta Yorke in Calcutta.

(85). *Thomas Anderson*.—Married Elizabeth Dixon on August 5, 1774, was appointed Surgeon-General on November 11, 1769, and died at Bombay in March, 1777.

(86). *William Jackson*.—Attorney. Married Margaret Stewart on November 17, 1776.

(87). *James Stark*.—Appointed Assistant Surgeon, September 8, 1773: Surgeon, September 8, 1778. Resigned January 16, 1789, but remained in India. Struck off, 1793. Catherine Stark married Captain Charles Russell Deare of the Artillery on June 5, 1779.

(88). *Nathaniel Bateman*.—Appointed Chief of Chittagong, February 3, 1775; Member, Board of Trade, August 31, 1775. "In March 1794, the Chevalier D'Eon requested from Warren Hastings a letter of introduction to Mr.

Peter Speke of the Supreme Council at Fort William, for the Batemans who were going out to India to claim some property. Mrs. Bateman was at one time an actress of repute and drew large audiences to the old Haymarket Theatre. I understand that Bateman died in India and that his widow married a Mr. Ester and died in Calcutta in 1801. Was this the Nathaniel Bateman who was a Company's servant in the time of Warren Hastings?" (E.M.D. in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V., p. 161).

There is a reference to Bateman in the "Memoirs of William Hickey" (Vol. II. p. 375):—"On the 17th [February, 1782] Mr. Nathaniel Bateman, a member of the Board of Trade in Bengal, arrived [at Lisbon]. His object in visiting Portugal was, like mine, to obtain a passage from thence to the East. Having had a slight acquaintance with him in Calcutta in the year 1778, we now renewed it." They travelled out together to Bengal and ended an adventurous voyage by quarrelling violently.

(89). *John Nathaniel Sealy*.—Writer, 1797. Commercial Resident at Santipore, 1812: Deputy Military Paymaster-General, 1813: died November 1, 1815.

(90). *Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Hampton*.—Married Sarah Hick on September 1, 1765. Raised the 4th Regiment, N. I.

(91). *John Shore*.—Sir John Shore, Bart. (1792). Afterwards Lord Teignmouth (1798): Governor-General of India, 1793—1798. Married Miss Charlotte Cornish, February 14, 1786. Died February 14, 1834.

Sir Charles Napier at Barrackpore.

[The following note by Miss Hilda C. Gregg ("Sydney C. Grier") was published in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIII at p. 195. It is here reprinted, with additional comments kindly supplied from the same source.]

THE photograph, which is reproduced on the opposite page, is from a drawing in my possession. I picked it up in a curiosity shop and an adaptation of it is being used as the frontispiece of my new book. "The Flag of the Adventurer." It was sold to me as a pencil drawing, but when it was cleaned, it turned out to be a reproduction of some sort. The small letters under the title—quite illegible in the photograph—are "T. Black, Asiatic Litho Press, Calcutta."

It would be interesting to know whether tradition, or the papers of the time, preserve any recollection of this particular review. The splashing water, and the expression on the faces of the reviewees, suggest that Sir Charles Napier had refused to alter his arrangements on account of bad weather. He arrived at Calcutta on May 6, 1849, and left it on the 22nd to meet Lord Dalhousie at Simla, which narrows down the time to little over a fortnight. Whoever drew the original of the lithograph must have had a knack of catching likenesses and a keen sense of humour. It is possible that one of Lord Dalhousie is extant from the same hand, and, if so, I should much like to have it.

Since forwarding for publication in *Bengal Past and Present*, the photograph of "Sir Charles Napier Reviewing the Brigade at Barrackpore, May, 1849" from the lithograph in my possession, I have come across some particulars of the review. A reference in *Hobson-Jobson* led me to Mawson's "Indian Command of Sir Charles Napier," of which the British Museum boasts a dilapidated copy, tied together with string. In the main a collection of General Orders, the book contains an appendix with interesting accounts from contemporary sources of Sir Charles's public appearance. Unfortunately I made merely casual notes—from the *Bengal Harkaru* account, I believe.

Sir Charles wore Blucher boots and "the solah hat"—elsewhere described as "the jockey cap" and "that funny-looking hat—as bad as Daniel Wilson and his three cornered affair." Is there any corresponding caricature of the Bishop? His Excellency dashed up to the troops at full gallop, dispensed with the march past, placed himself at their head, marched them as far as the limits



SIR CHARLES NAPIER REVIEWING THE BRIGADE AT BARRACKPORE.
May, 1849

(From a Sketch in the possession of "Sydney C. Grier").

of the ground would allow—near to the Burial-ground—wheeled them into line and marched them back. After this he pointed out to the officers that they did not cover properly, and dismissed the parade.

This was the first of the famous reviews in which Sir Charles Napier insisted on taking an active part instead of the passive one assigned to him, culminating in that at Peshawar, where he and Sir Colin Campbell, with their staffs, charged twice at the head of the cavalry Brigade.

The helmet, hat or cap, is interesting as being Sir Charles's own invention—for military purposes, at any rate. Hodson had imported a leathern helmet for the officers of the Guides, of whose uniform Sir Charles highly approved, and the officers of the Sind Horse wore metal helmets, but this seems to have been the familiar "pith helmet" of later years.

Mr. Foster points out to me that the initials A.H. can be distinguished in the left foreground of the picture. They are much more distinct in the photograph than in the original, curiously enough. Perhaps they may give some clue to the identity of the artist.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

Seir Mutaqherin.

“ THE REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES.”

OF the sources which have often been tapped to obtain materials for the history of Bengal, two figure prominently—*Seir Mutaqherin*, or *The Review of Modern Times* by Seid Gholam Hossein Khan of Patna and *Riyazu-s-Salatin* or *The Garden of Kings* by Gholam Hossein Salim Zaidpuri of Maldah (1). Mr. W. R. Gourlay referred to these two valuable books when he read his paper, *The need for a history of Bengal*, on March 6, 1919, before the Royal Society of Arts under the Presidency of Lord Carmichael (2). At the outset it may be said that the *Seir* is of greater value than the *Riyaz*, for the author of the former was not only a spectator but he often took an active part in many of the momentous events which he has described in his book. It is a contemporary record and its value is thereby considerably enhanced.

The *Seir Mutaqherin* concerns itself with events from the time of Aurangzib (it really begins with the death of that Emperor, though in Volume IV it reverts to his career and discusses some of the causes which led to the downfall of the great Moghul Empire) and ends in 1780—a date which may be considered as the time when it was completed. It thus deals with Indian affairs for over seventy-five years; moreover, so far as the major portion of the work is concerned, there is a wealth of details regarding the events in Bengal generally not to be found elsewhere.

The English translation of this invaluable history was made and published at the close of the 18th century in three large volumes by Raymond, (a French Creole who had settled in Murshidabad and assumed the name of Haji Mustapha) under the pseudonym of *Note Manus*, and was dedicated by him to the “Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire” (3). The whole of this (with the exception of the copies distributed to his few subscribers in India) was despatched to England, but the vessel in which it was consigned was unfortunately lost and the entire edition perished. A second edition was undertaken by Colonel John Briggs under the auspices of the Oriental Translation

(1). For the latter, my article, “The Garden of Kings” in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 206—211, may be consulted. Mr. Abdus Salam’s excellent edition of the *Riyaz* is well known. The *Riyaz* has been translated into Bengali. A Bengali edition of the *Seir Mutaqherin* was undertaken under the auspices of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat* but has not yet appeared.

(2). *Vide* the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1919, (March 28). There is a misprint in the article on page 290, where Gholam Hossein Salim is spoken of as the author of both the *Riyaz* and the *Seir*.

(3). Lord Macaulay in his celebrated essay on Warren Hastings said “Hastings had always loved books. Though not a poet in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility and was fond of exercising this talent.”

Committee but only the first volume was actually published in 1832 by John Murray. Although, in consideration of the immense value of the work, there was a great demand for it, the prohibitive cost of publishing stood in the way, till in 1902 Messrs. R. Cambay & Co., the energetic publishers of Calcutta published in four well printed volumes a reprint of Raymond's translation. Its importance and utility are well known and as Sir Henry Elliott has very aptly observed in his monumental work, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, "the author treats these important subjects with a freedom and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer and which justly entitled him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians." And he expressly desired that a complete translation of this history should be accessible to the students of Indian history.

The first volume of the work opens with the death of Aurangzib, closely followed by the struggle for the throne which was more or less a repetition of the fratricidal wars waged in the days of Shah Jahan and leading to the accession of Aurangzib. Indeed the sons of Aurangzib's descendants only reaped the harvest sown by him. As regards Aurangzib, we cannot have a better picture of the time than that given by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in his "Aurangzib"—a monument of industry.

In the same volume, Gholam Hossein has given us a short account of the marriage of Farukshiar with a Hindu Princess. He does not, however, go into details for which we have to refer to Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* and Wheeler's *Early Records*. It is, however, curious that the author does not refer to the Surman Embassy neither does he speak of the cure of the Emperor by Dr. Hamilton, an incident of so much importance in the early annals of the English in India. This is one of the serious omissions, along with the practical omission of the details relating to the Black Hole—an event with regard to which we shall have something to say in its proper place.

Gholam Hossein's views of the Sikhs (Vols. 1—8) are as narrow as those of his relating to the Marathas. He speaks of Banda, as "a barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher," though he speaks well of the *Granth*s of the Sikhs as having all the merits and attractions peculiar to truth and sound sense. Here also the Surman Embassy gives us fuller details of the treatment meted out to the Sikh prisoners. Perhaps the fact that the author lived far away from the capital accounts for the spare details which he gives us.

So far as Sikh history is concerned, Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*, an encyclopaedic work, supplies all necessary information relating to the religion of the Sikhs and their *gurus*. In the *Modern Review*, Volume II, 1907, Professor Jadunath Sarkar in an article entitled "Guide to Indian Historical Literature" (written before the publication of Macauliffe's work) gave us a critical bibliography of the historical and descriptive works bearing on the Punjab from the rise of the Sikhs to the British annexation, while Irvine's *Later Mughals* recently edited by Professor Sarkar and published in two volumes containing a very large number of his learned contributions sensibly lightens the work of a student of this period of Indian history. Bengalee students can

also read with profit and pleasure Babu Sarat Kumar Roy's *The Sikh gurus and the Sikh people* with its valuable foreword by Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The next important theme which our author takes up is the Marathas. The history of this people who played such an important part in India has been hitherto more or less ignored. We must not, of course, ignore the claims of Mr. Justice Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha power* which, though now antiquated, is bound to be considered. Grant Duff's monumental *History* though published almost a hundred years ago is still difficult to replace (4). Fortunately the study of Maratha history has now been taken up in earnest. Of Shivaji, whom our author again discusses in Volume IV of his work, we have now no less than six biographies, of which Professor Jadunath Sarkar's is the best. The volumes published by Mr. C. A. Kincaid and Rao Bahadur, D. B. Parasnis are based on the Marathi *bakhars* which are not always of great historical value: and Keluskar's work in Marathi, which has been translated by Professor Takakhar, is, in the opinion of many, coloured by excessive patriotic zeal. In this connexion the labours of Professor Surendra Nath Sen, of the Calcutta University cannot be too highly commended. His "*Extracts and documents relating to Maratha History*," of which the first volume has appeared, being a translation of *Sabhasad Bakhari* with extracts from Chitnis and Sivadigvijaya, and the *Administrative History of the Marathas* are unfolding a wealth of material, hitherto inaccessible to persons ignorant of Marathi. All lovers of history are deeply grateful to Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee for having introduced this subject in the Calcutta University and thereby encouraged original research in this way. The excellent article by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis on *Maratha Historical Literature* read before the History Section of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1909 can be read with profit and interest. Readers may also refer to the Sanskrit work *Visvaganadarsa* by Vankadhari who belonged to the seventeenth century—a record of times when Aurangzib was ruling and Shivaji was laying the foundations of the Maratha people and kingdom. Mr. Sardesai's *Marathi Raisal*, written in Marathi is of course a sealed book to those ignorant of the Marathi language but should be made accessible to students.

For the Maratha invasions of Bengal reference should be made to Salimulla's *Tarikh-i-Bangla* as translated in Gladwin's work "*A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*"; this has been republished by the *Bangabashi* of Calcutta, to whom we are also indebted for cheap reprints of a number of other important works. No Maratha letters have been hitherto traced and probably none are available. The best account is, however, given in *Maharashtra Purana* (5) by the poet Gangaram, a Bengali manuscript dealing with the defeat and death of Bhaskar Pundit.

Passing over Aliverdi Khan of whom we get a full account in the pages of the *Seir* and for whom the author has nothing but the highest praise, we turn

(4). Reprints have been published by the Oxford University Press (with notes by Mr. S. M. Edwards) and also by Messrs. R. Cambay & Co.

(5). Professor Samaddar expects to publish shortly an English translation of this with full notes.—Ed. B. P. and P.

to the invasion of Nadir Shah. Fraser's *Nadir Shah* and Irvine's articles in the *Later Mughals* give us a good idea of the invader whose attack caused the Moghul Empire to collapse like a house of cards. "*Delhi during the Anarchy as told in contemporary Records (1749—1788)*" and the series of Lectures delivered by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar as Reader at the Patna University have to be studied for this period of history. And the unique copy of a manuscript referred to by Professor Sarkar gives us a full and graphic account of Delhi covering the period, 1739 to 1799, i.e., from Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi to the eve of the British entry into the Imperial city under Lord Lake. "There are many gaps in the work as it now stands," observes Professor Sarkar, "but it is of unique value and constitutes a record of supreme importance to the critical historian of this period. Here we have an absolutely contemporary chronicle of the events and rumours of Delhi, written down immediately afterwards by an inhabitant of the city without any embellishment, garbling or artificial arrangement of a later day."

In volume II, we come to a very important period in the history of Bengal—the constant changes in the occupants of the throne of Bengal. Aliverdi's death brings us to the accession of Sirajuddaula, and the latter's attack on Calcutta, followed by his dethronement and the succession of Mir Jafar who in turn is ousted by Mir Kasim, his son-in-law. All these events are graphically described in this volume, which, therefore, from the point of view of the history of Bengal, is the most important. The two books by Mr. S. C. Hill (6) should be studied with care in connection with this period of history and, although the literature of this period is growing, a closer examination of details would appear to be required. The Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society, *Bengal Past and Present* contains a large number of interesting articles relating to this time which may be read with interest and profit, while the re-publication in its pages of "*The Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal, 1760*" (7) from the *Asiatic Annual Register of 1880* has made this work accessible to students. Regarding the Black Hole Massacre full details might have been expected from a writer of Gholam Hossein's position, specially as he does not speak at all well of Surajuddaula. Thanks to Mr. Little, whose premature death we all must regret, the question was reopened and the series of learned articles, in *Bengal Past and Present* dealing with both sides of the question (8) have, let us hope, solved the question once for all, proving that after all, it was no myth.

For Nuncomar, whom our author has described as a shrewd, powerful man, deeply versed in business, informed of every secret, "a man of wicked disposition and an infamous character" reference may also be made to *Bengal Past and Present* (9) where the copy of the Jewel Bond can be seen, while Ram Narain about whom not much was known, can now be studied through the

(6). *Three Frenchmen in Bengal and Bengal in 1756—1757*.

(7). *Bengal Past and Present*, Vols. VII and VIII.

(8). Vols. XI, XII, XIV, & XV. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton's book "*Calcutta: Old and New*" contains much useful and interesting information not to be had elsewhere.

(9). Vol. III, p. 501.

translation of Maharaja Kalyan Singh's *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Khan Bahadur Syed Sarfaraz Hossein Khan in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (10). ..

Our author has dealt at length with the unfortunate Mir Kasim and on this subject a reference should be made to the *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, edited by Archdeacon Firminger.

This volume also contains a full and graphic account of the career of the ill-fated Shah Alam (alias *Aaly-Goher*), son of Alamgir the second. His activities and his fight with the English and defeat and the events which follow take us to the third volume, which commences with the granting of the Dewani (11), (the first great step by the Company towards territorial dominion) by Shah Alam, nominal suzerain of Mir Jafar—the theoretical overlord of the Company. In this connection, the *Fifth Report on East Indian Affairs* edited by Archdeacon Firminger and published by Messrs. R. Cambrey & Co. is indispensable.

The third volume also speaks of the relation of Hastings with the members of his Council, a subject which is also discussed in the last volume. "As the three newcomers were linked and knit together, they formed a compact body, which being invested with both the King's and the Company's authority, carried a mighty weight, specially when they set up an enquiry into the conduct and principles of the Governor *Hushtion*, a man against whom they seemed to have formed a confederacy." This volume (page 76) also contains an interesting reference to a learned Hindustani travelling to Europe, "Mir-Mohammed Hossein Fazyl, a man of great subtlety of mind and great extent of knowledge." "His intention was to acquire knowledge, to see the world, and to inquire into those discoveries which the learned of those parts had made in the science of astronomy, in the choice of simple medicines, and the art of compound ones, in the qualities of plants, and the functions of heavenly bodies. As usual with all pioneers after his return, he found no favor."

The same volume also contains in section XIV, our author's valuable reflections on the "Twelve causes assigned for the diminution of revenue and population all over Bengal." The remarks are pertinent ones and some of them apply to a certain extent even now-a-days. And we may echo the feeling of the author and say, "as the people of this country have all of them become subjects to the English, and they have no other protector, and no other supporter or comforter besides, but God Almighty; as they have no other masters, from whom they should expect mercy and forgiveness; it is incumbent upon these new rulers of theirs, that in whatever concerns distributive justice and the welfare of the people of this land, they studiously emulate the scrupulous equity and the innate impartiality of our ancient Emperors."

(10). An annotated edition of this translation by the Khan Bahadur and Professor Samaddar is expected to be published very shortly.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.

(11). Our author's observations on this are well worth perusal.)

This volume concludes with the fall of the Maratha power at the momentous third battle of Panipat—a national defeat of which the best description was given in the banker's letter: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up."

We pass on to the fourth or last volume. Here after some reference to the Sikhs and the Marathas including Sivaji, the author discusses at some length the Rohillas. He next refers to the American War of Independence and speaks of the help rendered by the French, showing that he was a well informed person and then quits the American war to launch into the latter part of the Emperor Aurangzib's history. He also discusses some of the causes which led to the downfall of the Mughal Empire (Vol. IV, p. 158) and his remarks are not only significant but just, for example, regarding the *Jizia* or capitation tax (12), which was reimposed by Alamgir in his twenty-second year. His observations on Aurangzib though very bitter are worth perusal.

One hundred and thirty years ago, the translator, Raymond (13), estimated his expenses of publication at Rs. 8,700 and said, "I never have had in view either personal credit or pecuniary benefit. Had I had the last, I should not have commenced printing the work in December, 1788, with only eight subscribers nor could I to-day persist in forcing all obstacles, with no more than fifty-two; out of which number some will not pay, and some are gone to Europe; in all twelve persons. Now even the fifty-two subscribers, or the two hundred mohurs, would not repay so much as one-third of the expense of printing; for my personal labour is out of the question." The same may be said of the present publishers to whom the thanks of all students are due for having volunteered to bring out a new edition of this most important work relating to the history of our motherland at a great cost and with no hope of profit.

J. N. SAMADDAR.

[NOTE.—The edition of the *Scir* published by Messrs. Cambay over 20 years ago is now exhausted and although the original price was only twenty rupees, copies cannot now be obtained for less than one hundred rupees. The new edition shortly to appear has been enriched with copious notes by Professor Samaddar of Patna, as editor. The author Syed Gholam Hossein Khan, who had passed his childhood at Delhi, was settled at Patna when he wrote his work, while Raymond's edition was printed on Patna paper. It is therefore fitting that this new edition should be associated with the name of a Patna professor.—Editor: *Bengal Past and Present.*]

(12). It was levied for 34 years till it was abolished by Farruk-Diyar. It was finally abolished in Muhammad Sha's reign. (*Vide* Irvine: *Later Mughals*, II, 103). The *Jizia* yielded 4 crores of rupees.

(13). *Vide* his letter to William Armstrong, dated Calcutta, the 15th of May, 1790.

Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court.*

THE advanced countries of Europe have been the pioneers, as in many other arts, in the organization of public records and the appraisalment of their historical value. Of the numerous benefits which India has derived by her contact with the West the rescue of documents relating to her past history from oblivion has been one of the greatest. But the work hitherto done in India in this direction seems to have been partial and out of proportion to the bulk of records existing in all the departments of Government. Most of the activities of the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the management of state records, it would appear, have been confined to administrative archives ; while those of

Difficulties in the re-organization of judicial records.

the courts of justice have been almost wholly left out of consideration. This has perhaps been due to the fact that judicial records are not under the immediate

jurisdiction of the Executive authorities, who have great facilities for taking an initiative and practically the exclusive power to carry it out. Before the re-organization of their Secretariat Record Room the Government of Bengal wrote to the Government of India in regard to the records of the Calcutta High Court : —“ The Governor however has no information with regard to them. His Honour thinks that the Hon'ble High Court might properly be consulted.” The High Court on the other hand had until quite recently no whole-time or permanent officer to look after the large mass of records deposited in its office rooms, who had an exact idea as to the nature and scope of the Court's old records, and could understand their historical value, or carry on a sustained effort to re-organise them on modern scientific lines. Mr. Foster's valuable Memorandum on the Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records of England and Wales drew—perhaps for the first time—the serious attention of the Government of India to the immediate need of putting the old records of the various High Courts in India into order; and in 1919 a Record Department was created and a permanent Keeper of Records was appointed in the Calcutta High Court to reorganize the records on the Appellate Side. Subsequently, the Court further realising the necessity of making immediate provision for the better preservation and proper management of the entire judicial records of value under its jurisdiction, formulated a scheme to establish a Central Judicial Record Office in Calcutta, to which the records of both the Appellate and Original Sides of the Court as well as the pre-Mutiny records now in the custody of the District Judges would be transferred. This scheme is pending before the Government of India.

It may not perhaps be too much to say that the judicial records of a country throw a much greater light on the history of its people than its executive or secretariat records. They are in some respects more elucidative and authentic, embodying the final conclusions

*A Paper read at the Fifth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in Calcutta in January 1923. Reprinted by permission.

of most carefully sifted arguments and evidences, embracing the whole sphere of human activities with the utmost possible accuracy, and representing all shades of human motive and thought. They present a vivid idea as to how a particular people have lived from generation to generation under different systems of education and different conceptions of good and evil, and indicate the great force of circumstances in shaping the morals of a community. Unlike the chronicles of the Executive, they do not harbour any one-sided statements—statements which were never subjected to the scrutiny of the public, and which often mislead the historian to not a little extent. The records relating to the Courts of Law in this country represent three great and ancient civilizations, most dissimilar to each other and each an integral whole in itself; and despite the changes effected by the *obiter dicta* of British tribunals it may be said that at least the civil laws, as promulgated by the Quran and the Vedas, have maintained both their letter and spirit almost intact to the present day. All research work in Indian history must therefore remain incomplete, so long as these records are not studied properly.

The Record Rooms of the Calcutta High Court contain documents dating from the very earliest times of British rule in India and covering about a century and a half of its most eventful period. They may roughly be classified under two principal groups as follows :—

- I. Those relating to the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court and the Courts that preceded it, *viz.*, the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the Supreme Court.
- II. Those relating to the Appellate Jurisdiction of the High Court and the Courts that preceded it, *viz.*, the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats.

This paper purports to deal only with the records of the older Courts, all of which practically existed before the Indian Mutiny, the present High Court coming into existence only five years after that great event. It is not intended to enter into descriptive details of the records, beyond giving an idea as to their nature and present condition and making a few suggestions for taking immediate steps for their better preservation and arrangement.

The Mayor's Court and the Court of Quarter Sessions were constituted as early as 1727 by a Royal Charter. They corresponded practically to the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction respectively of the present High Court on its Original Side. They were created with a view to extending to the British subjects of His Majesty the benefits of the English laws. All civil cases that came up before the civil Court were tried according to equity, good conscience and the Common Law prevailing in Great Britain at the time, and the bulk of these cases consisted of money suits against European residents and merchants. The Court consisted of the Mayor in the chair and Aldermen present, and held its sittings at the Town Hall ordinarily on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Court of Quarter Sessions was presided over by the Governor and five senior members of the Council, who

were appointed Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the trial of all offences with the exception of high treason. Both these Courts were Courts of Record. The Sheriff was the officer through whom the commands of the Courts were executed. He produced the "person and goods and chattels," issued warrants (*capias of arrest*), mandatory processes, bails etc.

The Mayor's Court was abolished and replaced by the Supreme Court in 1774 under the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Court of Quarter Sessions was made subject to it. It was authorised to perform the functions of a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and was presided over by a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges, who were also made Justices of the Peace and Coroners in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with authority similar to those exercised by the Justices of the King's Bench in England. The capacity of the Court was divided into various sides, *viz.*, the Ecclesiastical, Admiralty, Ordinary Civil and Crown Sides. The Judges, who derived their functions and powers directly from a Royal Charter, were animated by an ardent desire for establishing an administration in this country based on the English principles of equity and justice, which often seriously clashed with the commercial and political interests of the East India Company; while the Executive headed by the Governor-General and his Council did not like that any part of the judicial administration of the country, over which they had hitherto exercised complete control, should pass out of their hands. The result was that a spirit of rivalry, dangerous to peace and good Government was created between the Supreme Court on the one hand and the Sadar Adalats, over which the Governor-General and his Council presided, on the other. This naturally led to constant friction between the two Courts; and men imprisoned by the one were often ordered to be released by the other, and *vice versa*. Letters of the Governor-General and Council were criticised by the Chief Justice as wanting in form, and ignored on legal grounds. Native grandees who were partisans of the Company often took advantage of these circumstances. Roy Radha Charan, the representative of Mobarak-ud-Dowla, the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad, refused to appear before the Supreme Court, when summoned in a case, and claimed through the Governor-General the privilege of the "laws of nations." The Governor-General of course supported him, but only to draw strong indictments from the Chief Justice. This situation however improved by later changes.

The records of the English Courts consist mainly of the following papers:—

1. Bills of complaint. These were grounds on which a suit was brought for decision before the Courts. They were filed by the attorneys of the plaintiffs.
2. Answers of the opposite parties. These were filed by the attorneys of the defendants.
3. Orders of the Mayor's Court to the Sheriff and Commission issued by it.

4. Exhibits, relating to the bills of complaints in the form of deeds, registers, account books, etc., of firms and ships.
5. Schedules of questions put to the parties by the attorneys on the opposite sides.
6. Affidavits, petitions, etc.
7. Reports of the Sheriff and other officers of the Courts.
8. Minor orders.
9. Final orders of the Mayor's Court, decreeing or dismissing a suit or permitting a case to be withdrawn. (No separate judgments or decrees are traceable relating to this Court beyond the notes "decreed" or "dismissed," written on docket covers).
10. Depositions of witnesses.
11. Judgments and decrees (of the Supreme Court).
12. Verdicts of the Jury.
13. Probates and letters of administration granted by the Judges.
14. Copies of correspondence with Governors-General.
15. Account books and other registers.
16. Miscellaneous letters received from the public.
17. Wills and testaments.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat was established in Calcutta by Warren Hastings in 1773. It was reconstituted and made a Court of Old British Indian Courts. Record by an Act of Parliament in 1781. The Adalat was a Court of appeal in all civil cases exceeding five hundred rupees, which arose among Indians who resided outside the Presidency town; and it was composed of the Governor-General and his Council, assisted by certain Indian officials. It also revised the proceedings of the minor Adalats, which were under the control of the Provincial Councils; and its jurisdiction extended from Bengal to the boundaries of Benares and the Ceded Provinces, namely, over the whole of the Company's dominions which lay outside the territorial limits of the other two Presidencies. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat, the chief Court of appeal in criminal cases, was transferred to Calcutta from Murshidabad, where it used to hold its sittings under the governance of the Naib Nazim, in 1770, and was placed under the exclusive control of the Governor-General in Council. From 1801 onwards, however, both the Sadar Courts began to exercise their functions distinct from the legislative and executive authority of the state; and the Courts were composed of a Chief Judge and puisne Judges instead of the Governor-General and the members of Council as hitherto. The laws administered by the Nizamat Adalat continued to be on the Mughal system for a long time. The possession and ownership of slaves, the cutting off of the hand for theft, the payment of "diyat" (blood money) for murder were sanctioned by the laws, and the punishments were awarded according to the *fatwas* pronounced by the Muftis. Rebels were hanged and their dead bodies exposed on a gibbet in public thoroughfares, as a warning to criminals.

The records of these Courts consist mainly of the following papers:—

1. Petitions of appeal filed by the appellant's Vakils. These were the equivalents of the modern memorandum of appeal.

2. Answers and cross-objections of the parties.
3. Lists of witnesses.
4. Letters from District Judges, forwarding exhibits, pleadings and other proceedings of the subordinate Adalats, including the judgments and decrees in Persian with English translations.
5. Questions and answers (*fatwas*) of the Qaziul-Quzzat, Muftis and Pundits, who were law officers of the Adalats.
6. Reports of the Reporters.
7. Judgments of the Adalats passed in the form of resolutions.
8. Miscellaneous registers, correspondence and circular orders.
9. 'Constructions.' These were the embodied opinions of the Judges of the Adalats on difficult points of law referred to them by the District officers, who did not find any guidance from the country, in regard to particular cases pending before them. These opinions were circulated throughout the jurisdiction of the Adalat and treated as laws. They were more or less equivalent to the present day rulings of the High Courts and contributed to a great extent to the development of the Code of Civil Procedure. The more important 'contributions' were printed.

A number of valuable documents have been lent to the Secretary of the Commission at his request from the Record Rooms of the High Court for the present occasion. They include papers relating to some important political trials and the judicial administration of the country during the latter part of the eighteenth century, besides copies of various letters from the Mayor's Court to Lord Clive, proceedings of the first Supreme Court, wills of General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Henry Vansittart, and a *farman* of Sultan Abdul Majid of Turkey conferring the Order of Majidi on a British officer.

A short account of one of the trials, which relates to a well-known Urdu poet, may perhaps be given here, as likely to be read with interest. Mirza Jan, whose poetic *nom de piume* was "Tapish," was a Mughal by descent from Bokhara and a courtier of Saheb-i-Alam Mirza Jawan Bakht. He was charged with conspiring to "subvert and extirpate from the country of Bengal" the Government of the East India Company and with aiding and abetting Nawab Shams-ud-Dowla, a grandson of Mobarak-ud-Dowla, the Nawab Nazim, in trying to "turn aside as many people as possible from the attachment of the English Company." He was alleged to have caused letters to be written to Zaman Shah, the King of Afghanistan, inviting him to attack Bengal and free it from the yoke of the English, and to Sher Muhammad Khan Bahadur and Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Mustaufi-ul Mulk, the Vazir and financial officer respectively of the Afghan King, invoking their aid and co-operation in presenting both the messenger and the petition to the King's favourable consideration. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan Ansari of Lucknow was commissioned to hear this embassy. The poet was also alleged to have deputed one Syed Ashraf Ali Khan of Patna to secure the assistance of the Zamindars in creating a rebellion against the Company. The Khan however was cunning enough to realise the futility of the adventure.

But he was anxious to draw out some money from the Nawab Shams-ud-Dowla to whom he presented a forged *mukhtarnama*, purporting to have come from the leading Rajas and Zamindars of Bihar, conveying their adherence and promise of support to the treasonable scheme. The contemplated plot was discovered before it could materialise. Mirza Jan was found guilty by the Sadar Nizamat Court, held on 16 December 1800, who, after considering the *fatwa* of the law officers, ordered as follows :—

- The Court having duly considered the Proceedings held before the Calcutta Special Court on the Trial of Mirza Jaun Tuppish for Treason against the state and having before them the Futwa of their Law officers on this Trial, pass the following Sentence.—
- The Prisoner Mirza Jaun Tuppish being convicted of the crime laid to his charge, and declared liable to imprisonment until he shall have shewn sincere signs of Repentence, the Court accordingly sentence the said Mirza Jaun Tuppish to be imprisoned until the Governor-General in Council shall be satisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentence.—Previous, however to taking any Measures for carrying this Sentence into Execution, the Court Resolve that the whole of the Proceedings in the Trial be submitted to the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council for his orders, as required in Sect. 5th Regulation 4th of 1799.’

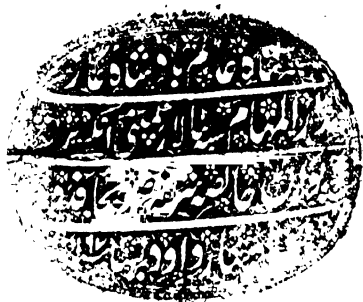
These old records of the High Court are at present without any arrangement and have no indexes. The records of the old Condition of old records. English Courts have been lying in a very neglected condition, although a start has been made in arranging and cataloguing the papers of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalats. The record rooms on the Original Side of the Court are dark and not sufficiently ventilated; and most of the papers have been reduced to a condition which would not warrant a safe handling. Unless they are immediately repaired and flattened, it will be impossible to arrest the process of decay which is going on. A large number of these records, it may be stated, apart from possessing great historical value, determine rights and titles to important existing estates, and their custody involves extraordinary responsibilities. The importance of preserving, arranging and indexing such documents cannot therefore be overestimated. As has already been mentioned, a scheme for the amalgamation of the Court’s entire records with the pre-Mutiny records now deposited in the District Record Rooms and their housing in a common building attached to the High Court is pending before the Government of India. But in view of the present financial stringency, it is doubtful whether this scheme will materialise in the near future. It is therefore necessary that immediate arrangements should be made at least to renovate and arrange the old records stored on the Original Side of the Court, pending the realisation of the larger scheme, which can be done at a very little cost. Otherwise the records may be lost beyond recovery.

BADRUD-DIN AHMAD,
*Keeper of the Records,
 High Court, Appellate Side.*

The Editor's Note Book.

WHAT is the exact significance of the inscription upon the seal which we reproduce upon the opposite page by courteous permission of the John Company and *Statesman*? At the last meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, which was held in Calcutta in January last, Professor J. N. Samaddar, of Patna University, drew the attention of the members to his discovery of what he termed a joint seal of the East India Company and the Emperor Shah Alam, by whom the Dewani was granted to Clive in 1765. A number of such seals had, he said, been found in the house of Baboo Radhadas Sinha of Rohtas, whose ancestor, Rajah Shah Mal, played a conspicuous part in the delivery of the fort to the English during the brief and troubled period of Meer Kasim's occupancy of the gadi of Bengal (1760 to 1763). The seal, according to Professor Samaddar, bears the inscription: "Shah Alam Badsha Ghazi Madar-ul Meerhum Sepah Salar Company Angrezi Fidevi Dewan Khalsa Sharifa subajat Bengala, Bihar, Orissa, 1191" (Hijri): and the translation, according to the same authority, is as follows: "Emperor Shah Alam, the Ghazi. The English Company, the Principal Manager, the Commander-in-chief, the devoted servant the pure and noble Dewan of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, 1191."

THE version so given has not met with the approval of Baboo Bahadur Singh Singhi, a member of the Society, who has pointed out that the date is 1197, and not 1191, and who holds that the inscription should be read from bottom upwards, rearranging the words according to sense: thus: "Madar-ul Maham Sipah Salar Kampani Angrezi Fidwi Dewan Khalsah Sharifah Subajat Bengala O Bihar O Orissa Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, 1197." The translation would then be: "(The) Principal Manager, Commander-in-chief, (the) English Company, devoted servant (and) Dewan (of) noble Khas Provinces (of) Bengal and Behar and Orissa (of) Emperor Shah Alam (11) Badshah Ghazi, 1197 (Hijri)." It is the contention of the Baboo Sahib that the seal is the Company's own seal as Dewan. The presence of the Emperor's name is due to the fact that it was customary to place the name of the reigning sovereign at the top of all seals affixed to documents by state dignitaries and high officials. Documents of extreme importance were alone sealed with the Imperial Seal, and documents of lesser importance bore the seals of departmental heads who described themselves as the most humble and devoted servants of the supreme head. Baboo Bahadur Singh Singhi adds that he is the possessor of a number of similar seals, and also of documents bearing seals in which the name of Shah Alam, the Second and other Emperors, including Shah Jahan, is used.



از ما و جهات و کل حیوانات اللطیف و معجزه به
 معزز و شمارش بی شماری در این و صورت
 بر ما در وجود غیر نفوس بلکه در حیوانات و در لایحه
 بر ما که از قوت و فعل و در انفس و در کماله
 و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
 و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
 و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
 و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس

منصفان بهر حال و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
 چون بگفته اند که در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
 و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
 و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس و در انفس
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A PERSIAN SEAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

MR. K. BOSE, the Superintendent of the Record Department of the Government of India, has supplied a third translation. He is also of the opinion that the seal is not a joint seal of the Company and of Shah Alam, but is of the Company alone and merely acknowledges by way of courtesy the sovereignty of the Mogul Emperor. The term "Khalsa Sharifa" denotes "royal exchequer" (*vide* Wilson's Glossary of judicial and revenue terms occurring in official documents.) His rendering of the inscription is as follows: "Diwan-i-Khalsa Sharifa Subajat Bangala O Bihar O Orissa Madar-ul Maham Sipah Salar Kampani-i-Angrezi Fidwi-i-Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, 1197." Translated literally, this becomes in English: "Diwan of the Royal Exchequer (of) the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the principal manager, Commander-in-chief, the English company (the) devoted servant of Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, 1197." Shah Alam, the Second, the Emperor concerned, held his titular office from 1759 to 1806. He was blinded in 1788 by a Rohilla freebooter, and, after spending years in tutelage to the Mahrattas was restored to his phantom throne by Lake in 1803. The Hijri year 1197, which appears on the seal, corresponds with the period between December 7, 1782, and October 28, 1783.

SIR BASIL BLACKETT, the new Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was born in Calcutta in 1882, and baptised at the Old Mission Church, where his father, the Rev. William Russell Blackett, was a frequent preacher. When Sir Basil paid his first official visit to Calcutta in April of this year, he examined the entry concerning himself in the register of baptisms as well as the entry relating to his parents' marriage in the Church. The Old Mission Church is second only to the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth as the oldest place of Christian worship in Calcutta: and owes its existence to John Zechariah Kiernander, who paid out of his own pocket no less than Rs. 65,000 of the Rs. 68,000 needed to complete it. It was consecrated on December 23, 1770, and named Beth Tephillah or the House of Prayer. In the vernacular it is known as the Lal Girja, or Red Church, from the tint of the bricks of which it was originally composed. In former days, building was restricted under orders of the Company on the plot of land on the south side of Tank Square, (as related in the following note) and hence the Church figures prominently in the drawings of the Square by Daniell and Baillie.

CALCUTTA has lost another historic building. The house on the south side of Dalhousie Square which Messrs. Newman & Co., the booksellers, have occupied for close upon fifty years, is condemned to "reconstruction": and the firm have sought new quarters in the arcade of the Great Eastern Hotel in Old Court House Street. The history of the building, which is one of the oldest in "Lal Dighi" and of the site upon which it stands is given in detail in *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 332). By a pottah, dated September 5,

1780 the land which is described as "one bigah and sixteen cottahs of the Honourable Company's 'camar' or untenanted land situated in Dhee Calcutta," was granted to Charles Weston, the benefactor of the poor of Calcutta and the friend of Holwell in his old age, with a condition that "no house, wall, or other erection of any kind whatsoever shall be built upon the ground excepting a palisade, fence, or railing" and "on failing of this condition, the ground shall revert to the Company." In 1795 Weston sold the land for Rs. 6,000, with the prohibition attaching thereto: and in 1799 it passed to the Barretts. It remained waste for the next nine years: and contemporary pictures of the south side of Tank Square afford an uninterrupted view across it of the Old Mission Church. The restriction was finally removed on May 8, 1806, by virtue of a "letter bearing date, Council Chamber, the same day," under the signature of "Thomas Brown, Secretary to the Government of Fort William in Bengal in the Public Department." A house was thereupon built, and was in the occupation of the firm of Alport & Co. in 1830. It then passed into the possession of the Bengal Club, which must have removed to Esplanade East by 1833, for it is there shown in the "Panoramic view of Calcutta" by William Wood, Junior, which was published in that year. In 1836 the house was sold for Rs. 82,000 to one James William Macleod by the assignees of the insolvent firm of Cruttenden MacKillop & Co.: but we find it retaining its designation of "The Club House" in a letter of August, 1841, in which a proposal of purchase is made by Messrs. Jenkins Law & Co. to Thomas de Souza & Co. In 1882 the premises were purchased by the late Sir Walter de Souza for Rs. 1,80,000 and sold by him a few years later for Rs. 3,50,000, a figure nearly sixty times as great as that which Charles Weston was glad to name in 1795. It would be interesting to know the price at which it now stands valued. Messrs. Newman's occupancy dated from 1882. In 1870 (as we learned in our last volume) the tenants of that day elected to be known as "Bodelio's Emporium of Fashion."

SOME interesting reminiscences of "Calcutta in the Eighties" were published in the *Statesman* of May 1. The name of the writer is not given, but we fancy that we are not far wrong in ascribing the authorship to Mr. H. Hobbs. Those were days when servants brought down tiffin for office-wallahs on hot-water plates, arranged in tiers, with a layer of lighted charcoal underneath: and as they returned the khidmatgars were met outside what used to be Scott Thomson's Corner, at the junction of Old Court House Street and Esplanade East, by a crowd of European and Eurasian loafers who would purchase the remnants of the meal for a few annas and wash them down with a drink from the Panioty fountain. Mr. Hobbs is right in declaring that the transformation into the Curzon Gardens of the loafer's paradise at this derelict portion of the Maidan was one of the most needed and welcome improvements of a later time. Moore & Co.'s "Belatee Bungalow" stood on the site now occupied by Imperial Buildings. This land was sold about the year 1896 for five lakhs

of rupees: and "when Walter Locke & Co.'s premises were offered to Moore & Co. on a long lease at a quarter of its present rental, the proprietors closed down rather than submit to what they considered an extortionate rate." Whiteaway Laidlaw and Co.'s place of business, afterwards taken by Hall and Anderson, and then by the Gramophone Company and the Young Men's Christian Association, was in Esplanade East. The building is now the home of an Indian jeweller. Sailing ships had not ceased to be a familiar feature of the river scene; and ships' captains often stayed idling in Calcutta for eighteen months waiting for their wind-jammers to be chartered. Society was not yet tired of flocking to the Eden Gardens on Saturday evenings to listen to the strains of the Town Band which was formed in 1884.

THE Terai hat, with a gold embroidered puggree, was the favourite form of head covering. Bengalee gentlemen habitually wore chapkan and chuddar: and the British soldier's hot weather uniform was of white drill. Frock coats, stiff starched shirts and collars, high silk hats, and the tightest of trousers were essential on ceremonial occasions. Dandyism in dress was the passion of the hour. A notable "Ditcher" of the period was the P. and O. pilot Lindquist who used to board and leave the steamers dressed in the height of fashion. Says the chronicler from whose store we are borrowing:—

The night the P. and O. boats came in, Lindquist could always be seen parading the Eden Gardens, wearing a tall hat, frock coat, with an orchid in the button-hole, striped trousers, kid gloves of the latest shade, and immaculate boots. He was considered to be the smartest pilot, as able as he was dapper.

The Anglo-Indian buck died hard. The present writer can well remember, when he first visited Patna in the early nineties, seeing the Collector, a well-known civilian of the day, taking his evening constitutional on the Bankipore maidan in a costume which would have been appropriate to Cup Day at Ascot.

MAGNIFICENCE of a more Oriental type was to be witnessed in the thirties. Miss Emma Roberts in her *Sketches and Characteristics of Hindustan* (Vol. 1, p. 113: 1835) gives the following account of a Burra Sahib whose reflected glory shone upon the good people, military and civil, stationed at Berhampore:

A gentleman, who succeeded to the appointment of resident at the neighbouring court (of the Nawab Nazim at Moorshedabad) . . . from long domestication with native princes in distant states, had adopted the pomp and circumstance of oriental splendour, so necessary to create and retain the respect due to the governors of the country. The appointments of his establishment were magnificent: he kept a train of elephants, and when he appeared in state was surrounded by a crowd of retainers, chobdars, and chuprassees, carrying silver maces

and sheathed swords before him, while mounted suwars brought up the rear.

The sequel, as related by Miss Roberts. should not be omitted. "A demeanour correspondent to all this outward grandeur" was naturally expected by the little world of Berhampore : but, to the surprise of every body, the new Resident got into a buggy, "that favourite conveyance of rich and poor" : and "left his name" at every door without any distinction. In this respect he set an admirable example to a newly-arrived regiment, "which had held out staunchly against paying the first visit," and "whose officers could not be persuaded that pride was not the cause of their being unnoticed by civilians of rank."

MORE reminiscences;—and this time from the pen of an old sailor, who contributes them to the *Englishman* of May 7. The last King of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah, established himself (as we all know) on his deposition in 1857, in the house and grounds formerly occupied at Garden Reach by Sir Lawrence Peel, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1848 to 1855. This was the first great alteration in that oldest and best known suburb of Calcutta which was once the subject of admiring comment from every visitor to the "City of Palaces," as they gazed upon its line of spacious bungalows on the water's edge standing in large compounds. To-day the tawdry pile of buildings erected by the King of Oudh for himself and his swarm of followers, stands derelict in the midst of docks and wharves. The writer in the *Englishman* writes of it as it was in the seventies, when the menagerie was one of the sights of Calcutta :—

The King of Oudh's
Palace at Garden Reach.

On one New Year's Day, hearing the grounds round the King of Oudh's palace were open to visitors, four or five of us went there. I remember the extraordinary uniforms of the Palace Sepoys, and their tall hats, exactly as seen in old prints of the Hon'ble Company's soldiers, cross-belted, and with bayonets, I should say, at least two feet in length at their sides. There were a few tigers in cages, a snake pit, and an arena, where we were told that fights were held between tiger and tiger and tiger and buffalo.

In this Wajid Ali Shah was keeping up the traditions of his ancestors. There are vivid accounts of animal fights at Lucknow in the days of Nasir-ud-din Haidar (1827-1837) to be read in William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King*. As for the sepoy, an inspection of the monument in St. John's Church to Lieut. Peter Lawtie, of the Bengal Engineers, (who died in Nepal in 1815), will show what their dress in the days of John Company was. It appears to consist of an uniform coatee and bandolier, a necklace, slippers, and a pair of short, tight *jungias*, or drawers, which leave the legs and thighs entirely exposed.

DISRAELI once called the hansom cab "the Gondola of London": but the ticca gharry of the seventies deserved no such compliment. It is thus described by the writer in the *Englishman*:—

The old Ticca Gharry.

These old gharries were real boxes on wheels, with big windows behind and at the sides, fitted with canvass screens, and no panes of glass or even jhilmils.

A palanquin may not stand for the acme of comfort—and it has to be endured for a long journey in the mofussil in order to appreciate it at its best or worst—but it must have seemed luxurious after a taste of these old ticca gharries.

SINCE the year 1911 the term "Anglo-Indian" has, by ukase of the Government of India, been applied to the domiciled community of mixed parentage. But, for all that, the original signification of the word has not been lost. The first Anglo-Indians, as the *Statesman* pointed out in a long and interesting article on May 19, were of the type of Sir David Ochterlony, who scandalized Bishop Heber by appearing in a *choga* and turban sitting like a Rajah on a divan, while attendants kept him cool with fans of peacock's feathers. Those were days in which many Englishmen adopted Indian habits and customs. Old Army orders may be read which prohibit British Officers from taking part in the *Holi* festival and direct them to parade in European, and not in Indian dress. Civil Servants had equally to be restrained. Frederick John Shore, the son of Lord Teignmouth, who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1818 and who died in Calcutta on May 29, 1837, took to wearing Indian dress, and scandalized headquarters thereby to such a degree that a Government order was issued forbidding the practice on the part of the Company's European servants. Presently, the Serampore missionaries, Marshman, Ward, and Carey, set their faces against the wholesale Indianization which prevailed: and raised a strong protest, in particular, against the Hindoo style of the tomb erected in South Park Street cemetery over Major-General Charles Stuart, who died in 1828 at the age of 70 at his house in Wood Street, and claimed to rest surrounded by the emblems of the religion which he openly professed. The missionaries, aided by Macaulay's onslaught on Eastern education, checked the current of Orientalism: and the name "Anglo-Indian" was next conferred upon the returned "nabob" whom Thackeray has immortalized in Jos Sedley and Mr. Binnie and Colonel Newcome. An insubordinate liver, a choleric temper and a yellow complexion became the Anglo-Indian's distinguishing characteristics. His state of health was not to be wondered at for our grand-fathers and great grand-fathers spent twenty-five years on end in India before taking the furlough which was preparatory to retirement: and hill-stations were unknown. In these times of quick passages from India, the Anglo-Indian in England connotes a more ordinary individual, namely, the man or woman whose destiny has sent

them to India in one capacity or another: and whatever meaning the word may bear in India, it will be many years before it loses the application it has acquired in England.

“COROMANDEL PLACE” is quite a good name for one of the new Calcutta streets: and we recommend it to the Chairman of the “Coromandel Place.” Improvement Trust. There was once, it seems, a “Coromandel Place” off Gower Street in London, and it is probable that the name was given at the instance of William Daniell, whose residence from 1825 to 1837 was close by at 14, Russell Street, Fitzroy Square, and whose uncle Thomas lived from 1809 to 1819, even closer by, at 12, Charlotte Row, New Road (the modern Marylebone Road). The Imperial Library possesses a panorama of Madras in which the name occurs, and of which the full title is as follows:—

MADRAS, painted by Wm. Daniell, R.A., and E. T. Parris; from drawings made by Mr. Augs. Earle in the year 1829, now exhibiting in Coromandel Place, New Road, nearly opposite the end of Gower Street. London (1830 ?) 8°.

The faithful (if imaginative) Mr. Caunter, in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 6, note) writes in the highest terms of this panorama:—

“So correct a representation has been given of Madras in the panorama painted by Mr. Daniell and Mr. Paris, that no verbal description can approach the vivid and extraordinary truth with which it realises the whole scene to the beholder’s eye.”

William Daniell subsequently painted another panorama of Lucknow with a “representation of the method of training elephants.”

NEWS reaches us, as we go to Press, of the publication of the long-expected third volume of “The Memoirs of William Hickey” (1782 to 1790). A full review will appear in the next number of *Bengal Past and Present*. It must suffice to say here that the book contains many additional details of considerable interest regarding “Bob Pott” and his fair innamorata Emily Warren, who form the subject of our article on a previous page entitled “Sir Joshua’s Model.” A reproduction of Reynolds’ “Thais” makes an admirable frontispiece to the volume: and an excellent portrait of “Bob Pott” himself by Romney is also given. Members of the Society are warmly recommended to procure a copy of the book (15s. net). In numerous respects it will be found to provide even better reading than the two preceding volumes. The side-lights on eighteenth century Calcutta are extraordinarily vivid.
